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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Miners show how to fight back

- For coal, not nuclear power
- For decent contracts
- Against Reagan budget cutbacks



Atlanta
Blacks
assert right
to self-defense
patrols

—PAGE 7

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The road to women's equality lies not in helping the warmakers fill the military ranks, but in winning millions to the battle against inequality.

"ERA, yes! Draft, no!" is the stand that all supporters of women's rights should take.

ERA yes, draft no!

On March 24 the Supreme Court heard arguments in a case posing the issue of whether women should be drafted.

The court is to rule on a government appeal from a lower-court decision last July. That decision said Congress must either include women or forgo a draft.

Some say this stance is a way of stalling the draft. They are on the wrong track. This position helps legitimize the idea of *extending* the draft to women.

Women and men have a stake in unconditionally opposing the inclusion of women in a draft and the registration or drafting of men.

Others, like top leaders of the National Organization for Women, say drafting women would be a gain for equal rights.

But equality means an extension of rights and opportunities for women.

The draft has nothing to do with equal rights. Being drafted and serving in the army is no right. It is a violation of our rights, imposed under threat of imprisonment or exile.

Killing and dying for Exxon and the other big corporations in El Salvador or elsewhere will not win equality.

Women's second-class status is rooted in the profit needs of big business. The corporations, whose profits draftees would be required to protect, are the same ones that pay women fifty-nine cents to every dollar earned by men.

Draftees won't be rewarded with equal rights. Black men were drafted for decades. In Vietnam they died in disproportionate numbers.

Today, as veterans, they face poverty, unemployment, and racism.

The draft of Black men didn't prevent the racist murders of Black children in Atlanta, and of Black men in Mobile, Greensboro, Buffalo, and other cities.

Back to the 1930s?

In the 1930s, the plight of the jobless was incredible. There were no organized welfare programs. People scavenged in garbage cans. Here and there, they obtained a few crumbs of food from charities. Headlines were a feature of the day.

The Reagan administration—with scarcely concealed support from its Democratic "opposition"—would like to turn the clock back to that period.

The administration's attitude was most frankly stated by budget director David Stockman, who declared that the government doesn't owe anybody anything:

He was not speaking, of course, of anybody who's "somebody." The ruling rich are receiving more generous government benefits than ever.

The ax is being whetted for the most vulnerable of working people—those on welfare or receiving benefits supplementary to below-poverty level wages.

In the 1930s, the jobless organized and won some changes. They forced establishment of welfare programs, miserably inadequate as they were and are. They demanded jobs, and some federal jobs were provided.

Again, wages on such federal jobs were a pittance. For a family with several children, a WPA job usually meant an actual loss in income since the wage was less than what the family was getting on welfare.

A fight for supplementary welfare was fought and won, to assure that a job would not mean a loss of income.

The concept of supplementary welfare has survived until today. Now it's one of the things Reagan wants to scrap.

A few figures indicate what this would mean. In Michigan, an unemployed mother with two children receives \$532 a month. A working mother with two children whose earnings net \$193 a month, has, with supplementary welfare, a total income of \$636. Under the Reagan plan, the jobless mother would be cut back to \$508 a month—and the one who is working would get only \$512.

The proposed \$1 billion slash in food stamps piles insult on injury. Recipient families would be docked \$1.20 for each "free" school lunch

received by a child of the family. Apart from the black humor of suggesting an average school lunch is worth \$1.20, this would mean thousands of children going to bed at night even hungrier.

And make no mistake about it. Children in this country are going to bed hungry. In Illinois, it's reported that in January, church-run food kitchens were compelled to turn away 1,000 families.

To put the frosting on this piece of cake, the administration is putting forward one of Reagan's pet ideas—"workfare."

As a condition for receiving welfare, "able-bodied" recipients would be required to do whatever work the welfare administration ordered them to.

But if the job assigned is useless work, the person should not be compelled to take it. And if it actually is a useful job, then it should pay union wages. This proposal is an open attack on wage standards.

But while Reagan and his wealthy advisers would like to turn the clock back to the '30s, we are, fortunately, living in different times. The great majority of working people reject Stockman's assertion that the government owes us nothing.

Today people assume, and rightfully so, that they are entitled to a job as a right. And if through no fault of their own they can't obtain one, the government does have an obligation to provide useful work at union wages, or, failing that, a decent level of compensation.

A government which cannot, or will not, meet such elementary obligations should be abolished. What would replace it? We think the answer is simple. Working people keep the country running. Working people should run the country.

Come to an open house after March 28 rally

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance invite you to meet

DeAnn Rathbun

Member, UMWA Local 1190

SWP candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh

Andrew Pulley

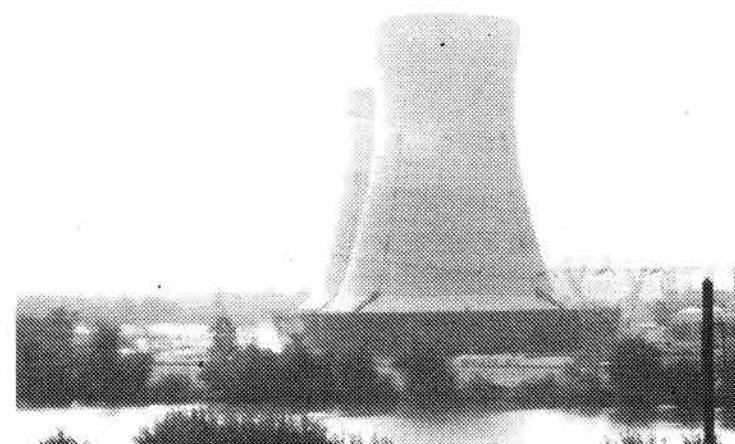
Member, Political Committee SWP

1980 SWP presidential candidate

5 pm - 7 pm (after the rally)
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Second and Chestnut Streets
Ballroom D
Refreshments

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The Militant

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: NANCY ROSENSTOCK
Editorial Staff: Nan Bailey, Nelson Blackstock, Fred Feldman, Nelson Gonzalez, William Gottlieb, Sue Hagen, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Diane Jacobs, Harry Ring, Vivian Sahner, Priscilla Schenk, Stu Singer.

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Ratification debate begins

Miners push back coal bosses' take-away drive

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—On March 23, United Mine Workers President Sam Church and representatives of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association announced agreement on a contract proposal. The following day it was approved by a twenty-one to fourteen vote of the union's bargaining council.

It will now go to the UMWA miners for a vote.

A strike will begin March 27, when the current contract expires. Despite company pressure to accept an extension, miners are standing firm behind the principle of "no contract, no work." "Contract extension is dead," said Church March 24. "There will be a strike."

As of this writing, the text of the contract is not available. What follows is based on statements by union negotiators and media reports.

In face of the determination of miners to fight for their rights, the companies dropped their most outrageous takeback demands.

The companies wanted a seven-day workweek and company-by-company instead of industry-wide pensions. They didn't get them.

If the operators had obtained the seven-day workweek, it would have been a green light for them to run the mines with much less regard for the health and safety of miners. They would have been able to schedule work arbitrarily. Miners would have lost the weekends off they now enjoy.

Another issue the companies had to



retreat on was the Arbitration Review Board. This pro-company body had been established as the final step in the grievance procedure. Its rulings, which could not be appealed, were in effect rewriting the last contract in the industry's favor.

The union won its demand that the

ARB not be included in the new contract proposal, although its rulings remain in effect.

The proposed contract includes a dental care plan for the first time. It is supposed to provide 80 percent coverage up to \$750 a year.

Another provision grants an addi-

tional paid day off, the day after Thanksgiving.

But the proposal falls short of meeting miners' needs in some respects.

Wages

Miners' average hourly pay is now about \$10 an hour. The three-year contract proposal calls for a raise of \$1.20 the first year, \$1.10 the second, and \$1.00 the last.

This is a ten or eleven percent annual wage hike. There is no cost of living adjustment to protect wages from inflation, as the miners had demanded. The federal government's consumer price index for February showed prices increasing at 12.1 percent a year.

Pensions

The pension provisions of the proposed contract are contradictory. There are some important gains. Widows of miners who retired prior to 1976 will receive \$100 a month pension benefits. They had received nothing in the past. Pensions for retired miners will improve both for those who retired under the 1950 pension plan and under the one adopted in 1976. But pensions for the two groups are not equalized, as the union had demanded.

The operators' unsuccessful attempt to change pensions from industry-wide to company-by-company would have been devastating. It would have allowed operators to wipe out miners' pension benefits just by changing the

Continued on page 9

Miners have right to read, discuss contract before voting

One of the greatest strengths of the United Mine Workers of America is the democratic rights of the membership.

These rights were won after years of a battle that transformed the union. The fight, led by Miners for Democracy, overthrew the corrupt machine headed by Tony Boyle. Democratic changes in basic union procedures were instituted at the 1973 convention.

Miners have the right to vote for union officers at every level. And they have the right to vote contracts up or down.

How does the ratification procedure work?

The union negotiating committee arrives at a proposed contract with the coal bosses and brings it to the bargaining council. If the council approves the contract, it is submitted to the membership.

A ten-day ratification period begins with the day the bargaining council votes up a contract proposal. Once accepted, it is printed. Every UMWA member is entitled to a copy of the full text.

On days two and three the bargaining council and International Representatives return to the districts to prepare reports on the contract.

On days four and five, copies of the contract are received in the districts. District-level meetings are held with local union delegates about it.

Days five and six are reserved for explanations and discussions of the contract at local meetings.

Days seven and eight are a forty-eight hour waiting period while miners read, think over, and discuss the contract.

On days eight and nine, ratification votes are held in each union local. Every working miner can vote. Retired miners, although still UMWA members, are not eligible to vote on contracts.

Telegrams are sent to the international headquarters in Washington, D.C., with the results of each local's vote. Days nine and ten are devoted to counting.

The International union then announces the results.

The news media pictures this procedure as slow and cumbersome. The coal operators and the other bosses don't like the rank and file to have the decisive role in ratifying contracts. That makes it harder to impose rotten deals, as in 1977-78 when the miners twice rejected grossly inadequate contracts.

Trial witnesses to document gov't harassment

By Vivian Sahner

An additional list of witnesses has been released by the Socialist Workers Party for their upcoming trial against the government. Two weeks ago the *Militant* published an initial list of names to be called by the socialists.

The socialists' lawsuit demands an

Busted again

Despite years of practice—and training by the FBI—Timothy Redfearn got caught red-handed in another Denver burglary on February 17.

The Socialist Workers Party is calling Redfearn as a witness in their upcoming trial against the government. In 1976, when he was an FBI informer, Redfearn was caught burglarizing the Denver SWP headquarters.

This time apparently he was working on his own. He was apprehended by Denver police carrying a pillowcase of goodies away from the home of a hospitalized widow.

end to the government's forty-year program of disruption and spying.

Two witnesses, Marian Bustin and Héctor Marroquín, will testify about the blacklisting policies of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Both have been threatened with deportation because of their socialist policies.

Cornelius Scully, an official in the visa office of the State Department, and Glenn Bertness, a top INS official, will be questioned about these policies. Sharon Grant, the SWP 1980 candidate in Virginia's First Congressional District, received more than 13,000 votes in the 1980 election, about 10 percent of the total. She will take the stand on the impact of government harassment on potential supporters.

Two teachers, Evelyn Sell and Morris Starsky, will present evidence on the FBI Cointelpro disruption programs used against them because of their membership in the SWP. Both lost their jobs. SWP member Ken Evenhuis will testify about losing his job with the Post Office.

Mohammed Oliver, a participant in civil rights struggles, will testify about



Witnesses include, from left, composer Guadencio Thiago de Mello; SWP member Sharon Grant; attorney Frank Donner, author of 'The Age of Surveillance.'

the FBI Cointelpro programs used to disrupt and destroy the Black rights movement.

The FBI collaborated with right-wing terrorist groups to carry out some of their disruption plans. SWP member Rebecca Finch, who was assaulted by the National Caucus of Labor Committees in 1973, and Laura Miller, who was attacked by the Chicago Legion of Justice in 1969, will both testify at the upcoming trial.

Priscilla Schenk, the Socialist Workers congressional candidate in Denver in 1976, will testify about FBI informer Timothy Redfearn. Redfearn was

caught burglarizing the Denver SWP campaign headquarters. Redfearn will also be called as a witness (see box).

FBI burglars Arthur Greene and George Baxtrum, and John Malone, former head of the New York City FBI, will be questioned about break-ins at the New York City SWP offices.

Brazilian jazz musician and composer Guadencio Thiago de Mello will be a witness for the socialists. Thiago is a long time supporter of the socialist lawsuit.

Attorney Frank Donner, an authority on government spying and author of *The Age of Surveillance* will also testify.

Warn of 'nuclear ring' around U.S.

Unions seek end to Pacific nuke waste dumping

By Mark Harris

SAN FRANCISCO—An important step was taken last year by unions to cope with the increasing menace of nuclear waste dumping in the Pacific Ocean.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the Service Employees International Union in Hawaii signed a pact with unions in Australia, New Zealand, Guam, Iribati, New Caledonia and Vanuata to stop the United States and Japan from turning the Pacific into an "international dumping ground for nuclear wastes."

The unions plan to hold a conference this May in Port Vila, Vanuata, to map out a plan of action on the issue.

For Bay Area residents, the problem is no distant one.

From 1946 until 1970, an estimated 47,750 barrels of radioactive waste were dumped, with the approval of the Atomic Energy Commission, in the vicinity of the Farallon Islands, off the San Francisco coast.

Lying in three dump sites, the waste sits in 55-gallon drums at a distance of eighteen to forty-eight miles from this major metropolitan area.

The waste came from nuclear laboratories in Berkeley and Livermore, California, from a now defunct naval radiation lab in San Francisco, and other labs.

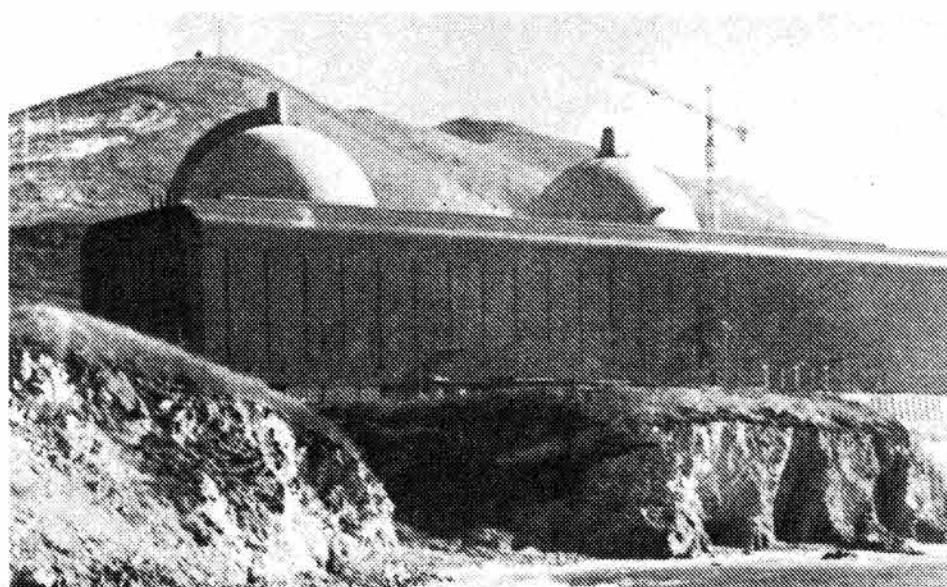
Most of the barrels supposedly contain "low level" waste from such items as contaminated clothing, tools, and animal remains. But also present are larger concrete blocks encasing high-level radioactive plutonium waste.

Much is still unknown about the precise impact of the Farallon wastes. But there is no doubt these thousands of barrels pose a serious threat to the environment and people of the greater Bay Area.

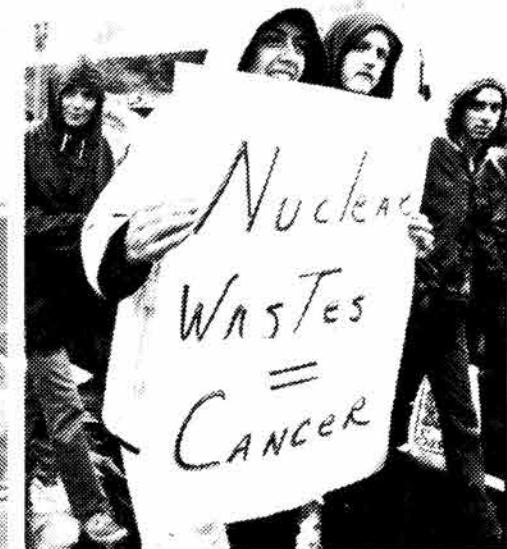
Among the radioactive elements contained in the barrels are plutonium-239, strontium-90 and cesium-137. Plutonium, the most lethal of carcinogens, requires 24,000 years to lose half its radioactivity. One pound is enough to give the entire human race cancer.

It is known that about 25 percent of the barrels have ruptured. Giant sponges, larger than any ever seen on the West Coast, possibly mutations, are attached to many of the barrels, contributing to their further erosion.

Back in 1976, the Oakland *Tribune* reported that the San Francisco regional head of the Environmental Protection Agency's hazardous materials division had obtained information from declassified naval documents



Left, Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant, located on the California coast north of Los Angeles, is less than three miles from an active earthquake fault. Right, antinuclear demonstration in Washington, D.C., on April 26, 1980.



stating that some of the barrels had floated ashore. Other barrels, the Navy added, were seen floating near the most shallow dump sites. Strangely enough, these documents have since vanished from the National Archives branch office in San Bruno, California.

Another danger is that the dump sites are near the San Andreas fault, near the epicenter of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. A major quake could break the barrels apart, contaminating the entire marine food chain of this area.

Even without a major earthquake, a key concern is the danger that marine life has already been, or will be, contaminated, enter the food chain and poison human beings.

Dr. W. Jackson Davis, biologist at the University of California, Santa Cruz, studied the now missing EPA reports, along with older AEC data. He warns there "is compelling evidence that radioactive contamination from the dumpsites has entered edible fish and presents a measurable health hazard."

While the government is deliberately vague as to quantities and locations of dumpings, independent groups have established these facts quite precisely. Rep. John Burton of California has described the dozens of ocean dumps as "a nuclear ring around the country."

Additionally, his office recently acquired testimony from a former Air Force reservist at Hamilton Air Force Base that, from 1952 to 1967, the Air Force secretly dumped radioactive waste from planes into the ocean near the Farallones. The Secretary of the

Air Force says he has no records of this.

Worse still, the EPA says ocean dumping of nuclear waste may be resumed if "feasible" methods can be worked out. The Navy is already studying discarding several Polaris nuclear submarines, with their high-level reactors, off the California coast.

In 1959, the Navy did scuttle a nuclear submarine in the ocean. The *Seawolf* was dumped in the Atlantic

about 120 miles off the Delaware coast. Today, the *Seawolf* is on a wandering trek through the ocean depths, its location unknown.

The facts so far known about the Farallon Islands dump sites reinforce one of the central contentions of the antinuclear movement—that it is the height of insanity to continue producing nuclear power when no known technology exists to dispose of its deadly, enduring wastes.

NRC wants ban on access to nuke safety data

PITTSBURGH—A headline in the March 18 Pittsburgh *Press* summed it up, "NRC: Speed A-Plants by Limiting Public Access." The article reports a proposal by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to "reduce the general public's right to gather information for use at licensing hearings."

The change proposed by Commission Chairman Joseph Hendrie would eliminate the public's right to ask questions and obtain documents from the NRC staff prior to hearings on licensing plants.

Hendrie says the change will "provide major improvements in licensing schedules without compromising the regulatory requirements for safety."

Richard Pollack, director of the Critical Mass Energy Project, explained that this proposal would deprive citizens' groups of the necessary technical information to challenge nuclear plant safety hazards. "Basically they will take away the tools citizens have in a democratic proceeding."

But of course that's Hendrie's point. Not only are nuclear plants incompatible with health and survival; they are also incompatible with democracy. The government is responding to growing awareness of the nuclear danger by trying to cut off the flow of information.

—Stu Singer

L.A. labor meeting demands safe energy, jobs

By Nancy Brown

LOS ANGELES—The first Southern California Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment will be held here Saturday, April 11. It will take place at the United Teachers of Los Angeles Auditorium, 2511 West Third Street.

The conference marks the first time trade unionists in this area have met to discuss the dangers of nuclear power and labor's strategy for bringing about safe energy and full employment.

The conference has generated wide support within the labor movement, with endorsements from more than sixty trade unions, union officials, and organizations. These include the California Conference of Machinists (representing 150,000 members), California Federation of Teachers, Graphic Arts International Union, Southern California Alliance for Survival, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment.

William Winpisinger, president of



William Winpisinger, president of International Association of Machinists, will speak to Labor Safe Energy Conference in Los Angeles.

the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, will be the keynote speaker at the morning session. Co-chairing the conference will be Bob Petris, director, District 38, United Steel Workers of America.

Response to the labor conference indicates the growing alarm about the dangers of nuclear power. As the conference call was being mailed out on March 16, the news media reported that Rancho Seco, a nuclear plant in northern California was evacuated that morning because of a radioactive leak. Officials claimed there was no danger, though, because "radiation did not leak from the containment dome."

A central part of the labor conference will be workshops on incidents like this. Workshops will include panels on health effects of energy sources, jobs and energy, nuclear facilities in California, and the campaign for safe energy—including a report from the March 28 antinuclear march in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

A special feature of the conference

will be a workshop on "The Cancer Connection: Yucca Flats and the Motion Picture Industry." The workshop—being organized by workers in the film industry—will discuss the events surrounding the filming of the movie "The Conqueror."

The film was made in a fallout-contaminated area of Utah in 1954. The location was downwind of the government's Nevada testing site for atomic bombs. Of the 220 people involved in the film, 91 have developed cancer; 46 have died—including John Wayne, Dick Powell, Susan Hayward, and Agnes Moorhead.

The conference is open to everyone. Registration begins at 8:30 a.m. on April 11. The first session is scheduled for 9:30 a.m.

For more information contact the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, c/o SEIU Local 660, 2404 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90057. (213) 385-5555. In San Diego: c/o IAM District Lodge 50, 5150 Kearny Mesa Rd., San Diego 92111.

'UMWA in strongest position in years'

The following interview with John Hawkins and Mary Zins was done by the 'Militant' March 24 in Pittsburgh.

Question: Going into the current round of negotiations between the United Mine Workers and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association [BCOA], there was a lot of talk about the weak position of the union. How do you see things stacking up? What is the mood in the mine?

Zins: I think the United Mine Workers is in the strongest position in years. We are not weak and divided as the coal operators and the news media proclaim.

There are plenty of examples that prove that.

Black lung fight

When Reagan announced cutbacks in black lung benefits, every UMWA mine in the country was shut down for two days, March 9 and 10. And over 8,000 miners from all across the country marched on Washington March 9.

Some friends of mine from southern West Virginia said their local sent four buses and still left sixty to seventy people behind because there just wasn't enough room.

Many miners at the Washington demonstration expressed determination to win a decent contract. Marching past the government buildings and the White House, people would yell up, "In a month your lights will be out."

If Reagan or the energy barons had doubts about the fighting capacity of the coal miners, March 9 was the perfect answer.

We made front-page headlines all across the country, and I'll bet a lot of Chrysler workers and folks in Youngstown wished they could have been there with us.

Against nuclear power

Hawkins: I think the union's initiative in sponsoring the March 28 demonstration against nuclear power in Harrisburg put us in a better position to fight the coal operators too.

Joining with the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment and the other unions in calling for that demonstration really won some re-



Militant/Nancy Cole

Scene from 1978 coal strike: 500 miners rally in Cedar Grove, West Virginia

spect, admiration, and solidarity for the union.

It painted a really positive picture of the United Mine Workers for millions of working people, farmers and others across the country—the miners taking the lead on this issue of real social importance. And the union made clear that it wasn't in this as a bread-and-butter issue either.

It is a real reflection of deep-going sentiment among miners against nuclear power—against the destruction of the environment and the potential catastrophe that nuclear power represents.

Since the Labor Safe Energy Conference in Pittsburgh last October, a growing number of miners have gotten involved. A lot of miners who were confused on the dangers of nuclear power have been convinced by the meetings and local union discussions.

So, right when Reagan is trying to slash black lung benefits and the BCOA is trying to force takebacks on

us, you have the union preparing for a second big mobilization, only nineteen days after the march on Washington. That is nothing to fool with.

Pressure on bosses

It played a part in the operators' decision to back off from some of the most vicious takeback demands, I think.

Another real element is that other unions are involved too. Unions that represent millions of working people. You have farmers like Jane Lee speaking all over; the American Agriculture Movement is involved. And you have the Harrisburg rally scheduled to begin with a moment of silence for the Black children murdered in Atlanta.

All that represents tremendous solidarity with the UMWA. The conference that called the demonstration made support for the mine workers one of the main themes.

All this means the UMWA goes into the contract fight with a lot of backing. Solidarity activities, starting with March 28, would be a reality at the beginning of the strike. And that really strengthened our hand in relation to the BCOA.

Q.: How are miners looking at this round of negotiations? Are they expecting a strike?

Z.: Most miners are better prepared for a long strike than last time. Workers have been setting aside money for months. Those that can, have paid some of their bills in advance. But money isn't the big thing.

All the government and corporations talk about is cutback, cutback, cutback. There's no money for black lung, benefits, for school lunch programs, for CETA, for food stamps, for Social

Security, for public transportation. Yet, they can find plenty for the military and to prop up the dictatorship in El Salvador.

Everything is stacking up in favor of the corporations and there's nothing for the working class.

In this contract fight we're taking on some of the biggest and richest corporations in this country, the big oil and steel companies. Reagan certainly isn't on our side. These oil companies are making record profits, yet they say UMWA miners are asking too much.

Like most other working people in this country, we've had enough layoffs, inflation and cutbacks.

People look to miners

H.: People are looking to us to do something this time around. I went to a meeting of the Independent Black Party the other night. There was a new guy who had come to find out what the party is all about. Somebody pointed out to him that the main goal of the Black Party is to unite Blacks to fight back against the budget cuts, racist violence, and the like.

He responded, "Now I get it. We're going to stick together like the coal miners."

Everybody who's on Reagan's hit list is watching us now—especially with the march on Washington. They sense that what happens in our fight to defend black lung benefits and win a decent contract is going to have a big effect on them. It's going to determine what they'll be able to win, or at least what they'll be able to keep from being taken away.

One worker who's saved up a lot for the strike—enough to last several months—described how all his neighbors are already approaching him with offers to help out. He said they include

Continued on page 9

Coal vs. nuclear power: a fight for safe energy

By Suzanne Haig

James Edwards, Reagan's energy secretary, told reporters in February, "As you look across the horizon to find the answers to our energy problems, there's no real place to turn in the next thirty years other than nuclear. . . ."

The United Mine Workers and many environmentalists know another "place to turn."

Coal, mined safely and burned cleanly, can be used right now as an alternative to nuclear power, until safe sources such as solar energy are developed.

Nuclear power advocates argue that pollutants make coal equally dangerous.

They are wrong. No other method of generating electricity, including the dirtiest coal, even comes close to nuclear power as a threat to present and future generations. Unlike coal, nuclear accidents can cause catastrophes. A 1965 Atomic Energy Commission report, kept secret until 1973, estimated that in an accident 45,000 people would die immediately.

Radiation, which lasts thousands of years, causes cancer and birth defects. It also damages the gene structure, affecting future generations.

After thirty years of research, no solution has been found to the problem of safe storage for the hundreds of thousands of tons of highly radioactive waste that is already polluting water, air and the food chain.

In 1957, Congress passed the Price-Anderson Act, which limits liability for any nuclear accident to \$560 million. They know the danger. The insurance companies say they will refuse to insure any nuclear plant if the law is repealed. In 1976, it was extended for another ten years.

By comparison, coal can be clean and safe. Scrubber mechanisms remove 95 percent of the sulphur emitted from coal plants. New methods of burning coal, like the fluidized-bed combustion unit, makes it virtually pollution-free.

Nuclear power supplies only 12-13 percent of electricity generated in the United States. Right now, we have 38 percent excess generating capacity. That means if all nuclear plants were shut down this minute, there would still be enough electricity.

Coal can immediately fill in for nuclear power, putting thousands of unemployed miners back to work.





Atlanta: Stop racist killings!



Photos of demonstrations in Harlem and Atlanta taken by Osborne Hart, Aníbal Yáñez, and Roberto Kopec.

Read the MILITANT

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Write to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Atlanta Blacks assert right to self-defense

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—Black residents here are determined to continue self-defense patrols despite arrests and harassment from city officials and the police.

Four Blacks in a defense patrol at the Techwood Homes housing project were arrested the weekend of March 20. The four are Chimurenga Jenga, Modibo Kadali, Gene Fergerson, and Jerome Gibbs.

Kadali faces the most serious charges—inciting to riot and carrying a weapon without a license. Jenga is charged with obstructing an officer and reckless and disorderly conduct.

Fifty people demonstrated at the police station to demand the charges be dropped.

The self-defense patrols were established by the Techwood Homes Tenants Association because of police failure to stop the murders and disappearances of Black children. As of March 24, twenty children have been killed and three more are missing. The cops have made no arrests.

"If the police were doing their job, we wouldn't have to do this," explained Tenants Association President Israel Green. "This is our community and if we don't protect it, nobody's going to protect it."

On March 20 the association organ-

ized twenty-five people in patrols. Most were armed with baseball bats painted in the Black liberation colors, red, black, and green. The bats are also known as "Hank Aaron Crime Stoppers."

Patrol organizers decided a few participants should carry unloaded guns while the majority used the bats. The guns of those arrested were not loaded.

Mayor Maynard Jackson branded the patrols "vigilantes" and declared that if patrols did not work with the police "they will not be tolerated." The police force in the Techwood Homes area was beefed up with an additional sixty cops.

Police Chief George Napper smeared the self-defense units as "the work of outsiders."

Tenants reacted angrily to the charges. Techwood Homes leader Marian Green said, "The Klan has armed camps and they don't get labeled vigilantes. We get labeled because we are Black and lower income."

Israel Green said the patrols are necessary to protect the project's children from "the crazed racist killers." Most of those slain have come from housing projects. Green said the patrols will watch children "very closely" while they play and do not intend to "detain anyone." He also appealed for national support for the right of the patrols to function.

"All these attacks happened to poor kids," Green observed. "Nothing happens at Maynard Jackson's house, nothing happens at Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown's house, nothing happens at Police Chief George Napper's house. It only happens to the poor community."

Meanwhile, at Capitol Homes, another housing project, the tenants association voted to establish similar patrols. Association President Carrie Copeland said adults and teenagers will participate in the patrols to protect the project's 1,800 children.

The U.S. Veterans, a Black vets organization, is talking to residents in many housing projects about organizing self-defense. The group calls for a Project Watch to safeguard the streets and stop kidnappings of Black children. "We want the whole city to be one

Outrage over Ala. lynching

"This was a lynching," declared the outraged president of the Mobile, Alabama, NAACP, Dr. Robert Gilliard.

Yet Mobile police are denying the murder of Michael Donald, nineteen, was racially motivated.

The body of the Black youth was found March 21, beaten and hanging from a tree.

He had gone out the night before on a routine errand and never returned. Just like more than twenty Black children in Atlanta.

The cops say those killings aren't "racially motivated" either.

SWP defends community patrols

ATLANTA—Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, Sidney Hunter, defended the right of the Black community to form self-defense patrols during a March 24 news conference here.

"The Socialist Workers Party supports 100 percent these efforts by the Black community to defend itself," Hunter said. "Mayor Maynard Jackson and the police have utterly failed to protect poor Black children and their families." He called for federal funding for city-wide patrols.

Hunter demanded the immediate dropping of all charges against the four patrol members arrested at the Techwood Homes project.

"They lock up Blacks instead of locking up the killers of Black children. They call Black tenants exercising their right to self-defense 'vigilantes' and 'criminals,' while the real criminals—the murderers of twenty Black children—are still loose on the streets!"

Hunter also took up reports on

two local television stations that the Socialist Workers Party had organized Techwood Homes defense patrols.

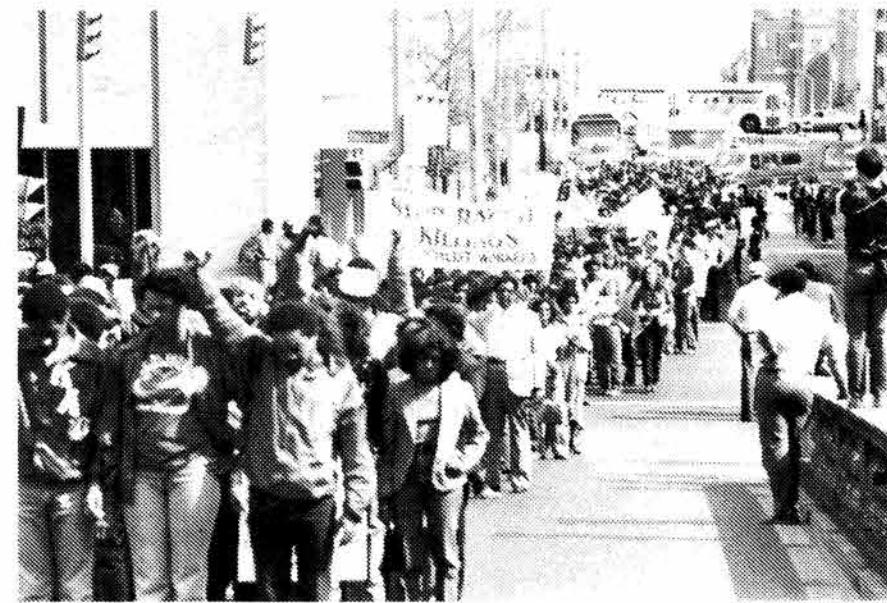
"This is false," he said. "The tenants themselves initiated, organized and control the patrols operating there, not the SWP."

"First we were told the patrols were 'vigilantes,' then 'outsiders.' Now it's a 'communist plot.'

"All these rumors and slanders are aimed at discrediting the idea of independent Black self-defense, an idea that more and more Atlantans see as necessary to combat the racist terror we face."

"My party is going to continue its support for the self-defense patrols. We're going to urge other Blacks, unionists, everyone concerned with human rights, to do the same."

"And we're going to continue to urge the broadest possible mobilizations in this city and across the country to demand that the racist killers be found and brought to justice."



Militant/Osborne Hart

Miners' strikes put a scare into coal bosses

By Roberta Miller

PITTSBURGH—In the days before and after national coal contract talks broke down March 17—before the coal bosses yielded on some of their demands—coal miners were involved in strikes in many parts of the country.

Over 12,000 miners were off work in Alabama, Illinois, Utah, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

The biggest strike was in support of UMWA Local 2300 at the U.S. Steel Cumberland mine in Kirby, Pennsylvania. That local walked off the job to protest the March 6 firing of six miners. Their crime was to protest schedules that had some miners working four days while others worked six. Most of the miners in Local 2300 are in their twenties.

The schedules were a preview of what the companies would have done if they had forced the seven-day work schedule on miners.

Between five and six thousand miners in southwestern Pennsylvania walked off the job to support the Kirby miners.

U.S. Steel immediately went into district court in Pittsburgh and got an injunction against Local 2300. The miners ignored it.

On March 24 they were slapped with fines of \$50 per shift on each miner who fails to return to work. The local is being fined \$1,000 for every shift not

worked. Separate penalties are being considered against local officers.

Varied issues sparked strikes in other parts of the country. In eastern Kentucky, about 800 UMWA miners stayed off work to honor picket lines put up by truck drivers who had just joined the United Mine Workers. One of the picketing drivers, Lawrence Sullivan, was shot in the arm by a non-union driver.

In Emery County, Utah, pickets shut down three mines of the Utah Power and Light Co. to protest failure to pay compensation to a miner injured on the job.

In UMWA District 17 in southern West Virginia, miners walked out to protest company demands for up to \$150 a month from each miner to maintain health insurance coverage in the event of a strike.

Some of the largest UMWA locals in Illinois were on strike between March 18 and March 20. These included 680 miners at Inland Steel No. 1 near Sesser; 760 miners at Amex Coal's Wabash mine near Mount Carmel; and 700 miners at Exxon's Monterey No. 2 mine in Alvers.

These walkouts occurred only hours after the breakdown of national contract negotiations. Coal miners were angry at the companies' refusal to bargain in good faith.

The wide range of strikes had a

sobering effect on the Bituminous Coal Operators Association. They eliminated by any doubt that miners were ready for a long strike if that proved necessary.

The *Wall Street Journal's* version is that the talks broke down because the union and company negotiators "mis-

understood each other's bargaining schedules."

The real misunderstanding was something else. As usual, the operators underestimated the miners. When the miners jolted the BCOA back to reality, suddenly there was no more problem with "bargaining schedules."

Mine layoff sparks discussion

By Pat Hayes

BIRMINGHAM—On the eve of the contract deadline in the coal industry, Alabama By-Products Corporation has pink-slipped 141 underground coal miners at the Maxine mine near Quinton, Alabama.

The Maxine mine is managed by ABC under contract for Alabama Power Company, a utility that operates coal-fired nuclear-powered electrical generating plants.

The layoff affects nearly half of Maxine's mine workers. Company officials cite low productivity as the cause of the layoffs. Since it is not clear how production can be increased by reducing the work force by half, many of the miners, who are members of the United Mine Workers Local 9984, believe the company is trying to throw a scare into the union in advance of the impending coal strike.

Other miners accept the company's explanation. Maxine is currently tak-

ing coal in two seams—one on top of the other. In the older, deeper coal seams, the coal is nearly depleted, making mining slower. In the new, upper seam, faults have increased the likelihood of roof falls, also slowing down operation.

Since ABC has put miners out on the streets because of difficult mining conditions, it raises questions about the company's willingness to recover all the coal at Maxine.

If our energy reserves are dwindling, as the government and oil companies claim, then isn't it essential that all of our remaining energy resources be fully utilized? Can we afford to throw away millions of tons of coal simply because it is more difficult and costly to mine?

Whichever answer officials of ABC and other coal companies give, many miners and consumers are beginning to wonder if we can allow the energy industry to continue to make all the decisions.

Labor and March 28: fightback mood growing

By Suzanne Haig

On March 28 thousands of people will demonstrate in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, for safe energy, full employment, and in support of the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract.

This action, on the second anniversary of the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island, comes at a time when the Reagan administration is trying to increase the budget for nuclear power and nuclear weapons, while slashing health care, gutting jobs programs, and taking food out of the mouths of children and the elderly.

In putting the profits of the energy giants and other corporations first, Washington has shown total disregard for human needs and the lives of future generations.

Growing resistance

And millions feel it. The offensive against working people has met with outrage and growing resistance. From construction workers in Washington. Transit workers in Philadelphia. Blacks in Atlanta. Farmers in Missouri.

And from the people of Harrisburg, living in the shadow of TMI.

In recent weeks it is the United Mine Workers union that has captured the attention of everyone who wants to fight back.

The March 28 demonstration could not have taken place without the miners. The UMWA, one of the first unions to come out against nuclear power, has played a major role in the antinuclear fight. It joined with Harrisburg residents and other unions to initiate the first national labor demonstration for safe energy.

The miners are demanding that coal be immediately substituted for nuclear power. That would provide jobs for thousands of miners, railroad workers, and many others who are out of work.

The miners have also set a powerful example for other unionists in their contract battle with the coal companies. The bosses tried to foist a Chrysler solution onto the union, demanding it give back longstanding rights.

They underestimated the UMWA. The miners stood firm, said "no way!" and forced the companies to retreat on some major takebacks.

In the fight against Reagan's budget cuts, miners again have stood in the forefront. On March 9 and 10, more than 170,000 miners walked off their jobs to protest proposed cutbacks in black lung benefits.

Eight thousand miners poured into Washington March 9 to confront the government directly. They cheered when a rally speaker suggested the government "start at home" instead of sending millions to El Salvador.

The message came across loud and clear to the White House—and to the



Militant/Stu Singer

Miners protest in Washington, D.C., against cuts in black lung benefits

coal operators. Millions of Americans felt the demonstrators spoke not only for themselves but for the interests of all those victimized by the new budget.

'Actions and strength'

UMWA President Sam Church said, "Today we're fighting to keep a program that we never thought would be taken from us. We thought we were protected by the laws of this country.

"We should have known that we are only protected by our actions and our strength."

Increasingly, with miners in the lead, working people are relying on our own actions and strength to protect ourselves. And looking to the labor movement and its power.

Union officials have spoken out sharply against the threat of a new Vietnam in El Salvador. The longshore workers on the West Coast have boycotted arms shipments to the Salvadoran junta for several months.

Millions of working people—Black and white—are wearing green ribbons in solidarity with Atlanta and in protest of government inaction in tracking down the killers of Black children there.

Thousands have joined in vigils and demonstrations to express outrage over Atlanta. Harlem mother Patricia Wagner, addressing a crowd of more than 10,000 March 13, put it this way: "They can come up with billions for guns, billions for Chrysler, billions to send people to El Salvador. . . . But they can't find the murderer of twenty Black children."

And at a similar rally in Atlanta two days later, Marion Garvin of the Communications Workers union told demonstrators, "Some of you wonder why organized labor is involved in this situation of the missing and murdered children.

"Let me proudly say that labor has long cared and fought for human rights, civil rights, human dignity, and law, order, and justice."

A similar theme was voiced at International Women's Day actions this year, where unions played a prominent role. Georgia Kampf, women's coordinator for Region 9 of the United Auto Workers, told 1,000 people assembled in Newark:

"The opponents of women's rights are the same forces who are opposed to

civil rights . . . who push nuclear power . . . who are opposed to labor unions."

Equal rights. Safe energy. Jobs, not war. A decent contract for the miners and every other worker.

Political program

This is the political program working people are demanding—and it will take a political fight to win it.

But this political program has no one to speak for it in government—in legislatures, state houses, city halls, or the White House.

The Democrats and Republicans in office today don't represent miners, autoworkers, farmers, or residents of Harrisburg. Increasingly, they've stopped even pretending to do so.

Look at Reagan's budget. How much resistance have we heard from our "representatives" in Congress? Some of those arguing loudest for cuts, in fact, are Democrats.

These politicians did nothing to build March 28. They didn't initiate the protests around Atlanta. They certainly didn't help organize the fight against black lung cuts. And they didn't oppose the demands the coal bosses tried to put over on the miners.

As Sam Church said, we have had to rely on ourselves.

"Protecting ourselves through our action and strength" means challenging our enemies in the political arena,

as well as on the picket line and in the streets.

Working people need a new kind of political party, a labor party.

It can be done

The March 28 demonstration shows it can be done.

If the international unions that sponsored the march in Harrisburg were to run their own candidates for office, it would have a powerful impact.

Beverly Hess, a leader of the antinuclear movement in the Harrisburg area, recently described what the labor movement had brought to the fight against TMI: "We are heartened by labor's numbers, organizing expertise, fresh energy, and commitment to a safe energy future for all Americans."

The workers and farmers of Harrisburg would be doubly heartened if there were a labor party on the scene challenging the nuclear giants and their political parties.

Atlanta Blacks would be heartened by a party that campaigned for the arrest of the racist killers in their city.

Mine workers would be heartened by a party that demanded they get a decent contract.

In fact, it's exactly these kinds of people who will be in the forefront of building a labor party. And that party will take the fight for human rights over profits a giant step forward.

Gov't pushes black lung cuts

For a time after the March 9 demonstration by 8,000 miners in Washington, D.C., against cuts in black lung benefits, the government hedged on whether it would go ahead with the cutbacks.

But Richard Wilkes, who heads the Huntington, West Virginia, District Labor Council, announced March 16 that he had obtained Labor Department documents proving the government is trying to quietly go through with the anti-miner move.

Wilkes revealed government plans to cut \$130 million from the black lung benefits program this year. \$3 million is to be cut from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration budget, and \$4 million from that of the Mine Safety and Health Administration.

NEW!

How is the U.S. labor movement changing today? How can working people defend their living standards and democratic rights? How can Blacks and women advance their fight for full equality? What kind of government does the working class need? What kind of party is needed to achieve it? These are among the questions examined in this 346-page selection of reports and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party from 1978 to 1980. *Special offer for April only \$5.00 (reg. \$7.95).* Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics
Building a Party of Socialist Workers



Campaigning for new readers

Over the top

3,746!

That is the total number of subscriptions to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sold by socialists during the recent drive to increase circulation of the revolutionary press. This goal includes 469 subscriptions to *PM*, putting us over the original goal.

For four weeks, starting February 14, socialists were on a drive to win 3,000 new readers to both publications. Coming right before the opening of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government spying, the sales effort introduced many to the ideas that the government is trying to suppress.

The drive got a real boost as protest activities mushroomed. From actions in solidarity with El Salvador, to demonstrations, rallies, and religious services held in honor of the twenty slain children in Atlanta, to the miners' protest in Washington, *Militant* and *PM* subscriptions were sold. Socialists continued to win new readers in the mills, yards, mines, and plants across the country. Several SWP branches concentrated on selling subscriptions to coal miners. The *Militant*'s coverage of their struggle was warmly received.

Harrisburg Team

A team of socialists has been circulating the *Militant* and *PM* in the Harrisburg area. They have been helping build the labor-led March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg to stop nuclear power and support the miners.

At the end of the second week, the team had sold 168 copies of the *Militant*, 9 subscriptions, and 31 copies of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

In State College, the team sold fifty *Militants* and six subscriptions to students at Penn State University. At the Bethlehem Plant in Steelton, thirteen *Militants* were sold.

Southwest Team

Three Spanish-speaking socialists have been on the road for several weeks in the Southwest.

In New Mexico, they focused on sales to copper miners, who belong to the United Steelworkers of America. At 6:30 a.m. on March 24, miners arriving for work at the Phelps Dodge mine near Silver City, New Mexico, were greeted by socialists with bundles of the *Militant*. The copper miners grabbed up twenty-two papers. They were especially interested in the coverage of El Salvador.

The team's next stop is Arizona.

'PM' sales

PM is sold at events in solidarity with El Salvador across the country . . . and quite well. Large numbers of activists in the growing solidarity movement have subs to *PM* and value its extensive coverage of the Salvadoran revolutionary struggle.

St. Patrick's Cathedral was the scene of a large mass March 23 in honor of the slain Archbishop Romero of El Salvador. Two *PM* salespeople sold out their bundle of fifty!

Single-copy drive

Accurate statistics on the first week of the drive to increase single-copy sales of the *Militant* and *PM* have not yet been compiled.

Next week's *Militant* will include a scoreboard of sales for the second week. Results should be called in to the *Militant* circulation office no later than Tuesday night.

—Nancy Rosenstock

Final scoreboard

AREA	MILITANT GOAL	SUBS REC'D	PM GOAL	SUBS REC'D	TOTAL GOAL	TOTAL REC'D	%
Charleston	20	44	0	0	20	44	220
Washington, D.C.	70	103	10	26	80	129	161
San Antonio	40	75	20	19	60	94	157
Pittsburgh	75	116	5	8	80	124	155
Birmingham	75	107	0	0	75	107	143
Piedmont	80	107	0	0	80	107	134
Twin Cities	88	121	12	12	100	133	133
*Newark	150	183	35	52	185	235	127
Portland	30	37	0	1	30	38	127
Cincinnati	50	61	0	1	50	62	124
Philadelphia	65	82	15	17	80	99	124
Milwaukee	70	85	10	12	80	97	121
*Brooklyn	150	188	25	20	175	208	119
Cleveland	40	52	10	7	50	59	118
Capital District	42	57	8	1	50	58	116
Phoenix	40	51	10	7	50	58	116
Kansas City	61	70	10	12	71	82	115
Seattle	75	85	5	7	80	92	115
Houston	45	54	15	13	60	67	112
San Diego	40	46	10	10	50	56	112
Louisville	50	54	0	1	50	55	110
Los Angeles	105	122	35	31	140	153	109
Manhattan	150	179	75	67	225	246	109
Albuquerque	45	50	15	14	60	64	107
Tidewater	80	85	0	0	80	85	106
Boston	100	103	10	11	110	114	104
Denver	45	46	5	6	50	52	104
Indianapolis	65	70	5	2	70	72	103
Miami	25	29	5	2	30	31	103
Salt Lake City	60	53	5	14	65	67	103
Atlanta	60	57	0	4	60	61	102
Morgantown	50	50	0	1	50	51	102
San Francisco	80	87	20	15	100	102	102
St. Louis	45	51	5	0	50	51	102
Oakland	60	56	10	8	70	64	91
Dallas	40	52	25	6	65	58	89
Iron Range	30	23	0	2	30	25	83
Baltimore	60	48	0	1	60	49	82
New Orleans	75	61	0	0	75	61	81
Toledo	35	26	0	0	35	26	74
Gary	40	30	5	2	45	32	71
Detroit	75	49	10	1	85	50	59
Chicago	85	47	25	11	110	58	53
San Jose	30	6	10	7	40	13	33
Miscellaneous		119		38		157	
TOTAL SHOULD BE	2796	3277	465	469	3261	3746	115
		2796		465		3261	100

*indicates area that raised goal

...miners

Continued from page 3
name of the coal company.

Nonunion coal

Pension benefits are jeopardized somewhat by the union negotiators' agreement to drop the royalty operators were required to pay to the Health and Retirement Fund for coal bought from nonunion mines.

Church estimated this will take \$1 million a month from the pension plan. It will encourage use of nonunion coal and increase the price advantage it has over union-produced coal.

Probation

A feature of the proposed contract that has received little publicity is the inclusion of a forty-five day probation period for new miners. While this is a common practice in other industries,

the miners have successfully resisted it.

With probation, during the first forty-five days a miner can be fired arbitrarily. The miner in many cases would have to avoid participating in union activities. Bosses could force speed up, using their added leverage on probationary miners. New miners could be forced into dangerous jobs, endangering everyone in the mine. Any threat to safety has to be taken very seriously in a coal mine.

This is a victory for the BCOA.

This contract is less than miners are entitled to. But it is not what the operators were shooting for. They wanted to break the union.

The miners will now exercise their right to read the contract proposal, discuss it, and vote on it.

The next voice to be heard on the contract will be that of 160,000 miners. They will decide.

their war against the UMWA.

Q.: What happens now with the contract proposal?

Z.: We've forced the BCOA to back off from its worst takeback schemes. That's quite a tribute to the power of union members standing together.

Now all of us will read the contract, talk about it, study it. Then we'll vote.

Is this all we can get now or can we stay out for more?

So far reactions are mixed. But no one has seen the contract yet. Miners will go through it with a fine-tooth comb.

One thing that is guaranteed is that the ball is now in our court. The miners will decide.

...interview

Continued from page 5

railworkers, teamsters, and others.

I think what this guy said at the Black Party meeting was important in another way, too. Everybody who has a bone to pick with Reagan has to do it like we did on March 9 and 10 and are doing right now with the BCOA. They don't just sympathize with us, they identify with us, and want to emulate us. That's important.

Behind the walkouts

Q.: Were you surprised at the reaction to the break-off of negotiations—the walkouts that took place in a number of states?

Z.: Not really. The newspapers have played up the fact that the number of so-called wildcat strikes has gone down dramatically in the last few years. Miners are supposed to be less militant today.

Miners don't like to strike any more than anyone else. But sometimes it seems to be the only way to make the company abide by the contract. Many miners had hoped that we would be able to get a decent contract without a repeat of the 111-day strike. But when word got out that the operators wanted round-the-clock production—twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week—and company-by-company pension programs, people began to realize the bosses were out for blood.

At U.S. Steel's Cumberland Mine in Greene County, Pennsylvania, they even tried to institute the longer work-week. The company worked some of the miners six days mining coal with the longwall. Others just got four days a week. U.S. Steel fired six workers when they protested.

So last week when negotiations broke down and [UMWA President] Sam Church sent the bargaining council home, many miners spontaneously walked off the job. Some to protest the outrageous demands of the BCOA, others due to company provocations like at the U.S. Steel mine.

This display of combativity certainly gave Consol, U.S. Steel, Peabody and the rest of the BCOA cause to rethink

Polish workers, farmers unite

Solidarity answers gov't attack with strike call

By William Gottlieb

The Polish government is stepping up pressure on the multimillion member Solidarity union, and on its allies among the farmers, students, and Communist Party members.

On March 19 leaders of Solidarity and representatives of the farmers were evicted from the headquarters of the local assembly in Bydgoszcz by club-swinging cops. Several workers and farmers were injured, including Jan Rulewski, a member of Solidarity's national commission. This was the first such use of force by the government since Solidarity was born out of the mass strikes last August.

One aim of the cop attack was to warn Solidarity to drop its support to the demand of farmers for their own union. Another was to assert the right of Polish cops to act in the brutal and arrogant way they were accustomed to before the rise of Solidarity.

The outraged response of the workers and their supporters was instantaneous. There were brief work stoppages in many places and demands for a general strike were widely heard.

Meeting in Bydgoszcz March 23, the Solidarity leadership called for a four-hour warning strike March 27 and a general strike on March 31 if the government of Prime Minister Jaruzelski and Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party) chief Stanislaw Kania failed to meet the workers' demands.

The demands include the removal and punishment of officials responsible for the police attack; recognition by the government of the farmers union; guarantees that the government will not obstruct the operations of the unions; a right of response to attacks on unions in the press; and an end to all legal prosecution of pro-union political prisoners.

A ten-man crisis command headed by Lech Walesa, the most prominent Solidarity leader, was set up to run the strike from inside the Lenin Shipyard



in Gdansk. The meeting urged strike committees throughout the country to operate from within factories for protection. The union said it will declare a general strike at once if the government declares a state of emergency and tries to impose martial law.

Party Chief Stanislaw Kania responded by declaring that, "The union's appeal for strikes cannot be interpreted other than an invitation for self-annihilation." He dismissed the police attack on the workers and farmers as a "local incident."

In spite of Kania's threatening language, the resignation of Bydgoszcz official Edward Berger indicates that the bureaucrats are feeling pressure to yield ground.

Polish television has extensively covered Warsaw Pact military exercises now taking place in Poland. Govern-

ment officials have hinted that Soviet military intervention may occur if the union doesn't stop pressing for the rights of workers and farmers.

The current flare-up followed a period when tension appeared to ease. The appointment of General Wojciech Jaruzelski as prime minister was viewed as a conciliatory gesture by Solidarity. Jaruzelski is less unpopular than other Stalinist leaders because as Defense Minister he is thought to have refused to use the army to put down workers' strikes in 1970 and 1976. Unlike his predecessors, Jaruzelski made a point of consulting with the union before announcing economic decisions. The union in turn was responsive to the prime minister's plea for a ninety-day strike-free period.

In recent weeks, however, there have been a mounting series of government

provocations.

Several dissidents have been picked up by police and jailed or held briefly. On March 8, an anti-Semitic, anti-Solidarity rally was held in Warsaw. It is widely believed in Poland to have had the backing of a wing of the government. Solidarity denounced the anti-Semitic meeting.

The root of the current crisis is the bureaucrats' feeling that political power is slipping out of their hands. Local branches of Solidarity have been demanding and winning the resignation of corrupt or brutal local officials. The unions have also demanded that facilities built for private use of the bureaucrats be turned over to the public. For example the workers of Suwalki province are demanding that a new seven-story Communist Party building be turned over to the public health service.

Daily World's strange view of unions' role

By William Gottlieb

The *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the views of the Communist Party USA, has printed a series of articles on the Polish trade unions by its correspondent Conrad Komorowski. In these articles Komorowski presents a view of the role of trade unions building socialism that should give members and supporters of the Communist Party serious food for thought.

In the March 7 edition, Komorowski writes from Nowa Huta, a stronghold of Solidarity, that workers are leaving the new unions: "I was told . . . that many workers are moving over to the branch union now. They had joined Solidarity assuming it would concern itself only with economic issues, not with politics. Now many of them are leaving."

The branch unions are the successors to the old government-controlled unions. They are now formally independent.

Komorowski doesn't say who told him that the workers are deserting Solidarity for these outfits, and he presents no evidence that this is true. No reporter, except Komorowski, has claimed to see any decline in Solidarity's membership or support. On the contrary.

Whatever the facts, Komorowski's sympathy for the view that Polish unions should keep their noses out of politics and stick to purely economic issues is evident. He evidently believes that the concept of "pure and simple"

non-political trade unionism that proved totally inadequate for the American labor movement is correct for a country building socialism.

Does he really think it is possible to build socialism without the political involvement of the mass organizations of the working class? And to whom does Komorowski assign the role of dealing with political and social questions, if these are outside the province of the working-class organizations?

In an article written in Warsaw and published in the March 19 *Daily World*, Komorowski "deepens" his views on the role of the unions in socialist construction. He writes, ". . . efforts are being made to turn Solidarity into a social movement by some persons and forces with political ambitions."

How is it possible for the unions to be anything other than a social movement? Is it really possible for the unions in a country where the working class has political power not to concern themselves with social questions? How is socialism going to be built if the unions are not a social movement?

While Komorowski does not answer such questions he does clarify what he means when he says the Polish unions must stay out of politics. He complains, "The Szczecin Interfactory Workers' Commission, for example, objected in their Feb. 26 statement to PUWP [Polish United Workers Party, Poland's ruling party] First Secretary Stanislaw Kania's speech at the 26th Soviet Party Congress." Worse yet,

"Its criticism was echoed by some other top groups of the Solidarity union."

Komorowski doesn't inform us as to the nature of their objections. Just the fact that they "objected" is enough to get his dander up.

Has he forgotten the disastrous results for Poland's economy and working class of suppressing such objections? These have been admitted not only by the Polish government and Communist Party, but by the U.S. Communist Party as well.

Komorowski seems to think that everyone in Poland is obliged to approve of Kania's speech, whether they

like it or not.

Members of the Communist Party USA should ask themselves whether they are fighting for a society where trade unionists will have no independent role to play in political and social questions. Do they really think that after the tremendous political and social mobilizations by the unions that will be necessary to overthrow American capitalism, it will be possible to ban unions from taking up social and political questions?

Perhaps the *Daily World* will publish the views of members of the Communist Party USA who disagree with Komorowski's totalitarian conceptions.

Guatemalans face deportation

NEW YORK—The Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala (CSPG) has issued an emergency appeal for the safety of six leaders of the Guatemalan Democratic Front Against Repression (FDCR) arrested March 24 in San José, Costa Rica.

The Costa Rican government has threatened the six opposition leaders with deportation to Guatemala, which would mean certain death at the hands of the Guatemalan dictatorship.

Only three names of those arrested were available at press time: Israel Márquez, Miguel Ángel Albizurez, and Byron Barrera.

Márquez was a leader of the embattled Coca-Cola workers union who fled Guatemala after repeated threats on his life.

Albizurez is a prominent labor leader and representative of the FDCR.

Barrera is a Guatemalan journalist who until recently lived in Chicago.

Send telegrams to: President Rodrigo Carazo, Presidential Palace, San José, Costa Rica.

Make telephone calls to: Costa Rican Embassy, Washington, D.C. (202) 234-2945; or Costa Rican Mission to the United Nations, New York (212) 986-6373.

Which way for the antidraft movement?

1236 S. Taylor St., # A
Arlington, Va. 22204
March 2, 1981

Cindy Jaquith & Andy Rose,
Editors
THE MILITANT
14 Charles Lane
New York, N.Y. 10014

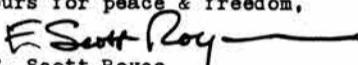
Dear Ms. Jaquith & Mr. Rose:

Suzanne Haig's article, "The Libertarian Party vs. the Antidraft Movement" (MILITANT, 2/27/81), seriously misrepresents the LP.

Ms. Haig states, for instance, that the LP supports "so-called 'right to work' laws, which are intended to weaken the unions..." The LP's National Platform for 1980, like most of its predecessors, states that "we urge repeal of...all state Right to Work Laws, which prohibit employers from making voluntary contracts with unions." The document also opposes all "government back-to-work orders" and endorses "the right to organize secondary boycotts..."

Ms. Haig also implies that the 1980 LP Presidential candidate, Ed Clark, opposed a reduction of American foreign commitments and defense spending. Nothing could be farther from the truth! Clark did support a "strong defense" for the U.S. itself. But he made it plain in numerous public appearances, interviews, and in his lengthy "white paper" on these issues that he advocated radical reductions in the American presence overseas and in expenditures for the military. Libertarians are the last people to advocate involvement in the internal affairs of El Salvador, too.

Many anti-draft activists -- not just Libertarians -- advocate making the current anti-conscription campaign a single-issue one. Why? Many conservatives, operating in the Robert Taft tradition, oppose registration. Turning the anti-conscription movement into a left-wing or Socialist-oriented one could alienate the very people we need, given current political realities, to help us achieve our goals.

Yours for peace & freedom,

E. Scott Roy
Coordinator, Northern Virginians
Against Involuntary Servitude

Reply by Suzanne Haig

E. Scott Royce states that an article I wrote in the February 20 *Militant*, "The Libertarian Party vs. the anti-draft movement," "seriously misrepresents" the Libertarian Party.

On the contrary. The positions taken

by the Libertarian Party at the February 13-15 National Antidraft Conference in Detroit and Royce's own arguments confirm my estimate.

I maintained that the antidraft movement should try to draw still more unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and

other working people and youth into the struggle. "These," I said, "are the people who will be victimized by the draft and by cutbacks in jobs and social services to finance the war budget." They have the power to stay the warmakers' hands.

I stated that the Libertarian Party sought to orient the movement in the opposite direction—toward the big business beneficiaries of the war drive.

When Reagan attempts to slash social services, weaken miners' black lung benefits, and gut programs that create jobs, the Libertarians are on his side. They press him to go much further—calling for abolition of Social Security, Medicare, the minimum wage, and all taxes on corporations.

Royce confirms that he wants the antidraft movement tailored to attract "conservatives, operating in the Robert Taft tradition."

Is that the kind of movement we need—one in the tradition of that supporter of the Korean war, sometime defender of Joseph McCarthy, and frequent supporter of measures restricting democratic rights?

It is not the "conservatives in the Taft tradition" who speak out against U.S. support to the Salvadoran junta.

It is the unions, the civil rights movement, and women's rights organizations like the National Organization for Women.

These forces reflect the sentiment of millions in this country. These are the people who must make up the antidraft movement, if we are to be successful.

At the antidraft conference, the Libertarians spoke against a proposal to support the labor-organized March 28 antinuclear demonstration in Harrisburg. They objected to including the demand "Fund human needs, not war" in the program of the May 9 antidraft demonstration.

"I don't believe CARD [Committee Against Registration and the Draft] has any right to be in Harrisburg or fighting for funding human needs and jobs," said Jeff Friedman of Students for a Libertarian Society, at one conference session.

But how can you build an antidraft

movement without taking on the attacks against working people that are the other side of the government's war drive?

Can miners be involved in the movement if it keeps silent on attempts to gut their benefits in order to beef up the war budget? Can the movement be neutral when miners are fighting for a decent contract against the energy billionaires—the same forces who push for the draft, and increased military intervention in the Middle East and elsewhere to protect their investments?

Will union members be attracted to an antidraft movement that operates "in the tradition" of the author of the Taft-Hartley act?

The Libertarians may think the issues of jobs and war can be separated, but working people know better. And so did the 1,200 participants in Detroit who overwhelmingly rejected the Libertarian stand.

Royce says that the Libertarians support only "a strong defense for the U.S. itself" and oppose "involvement" in El Salvador.

But who in the United States is defended by the military machine? The nuclear arsenal, the tanks, ships, bombers, and armed forces exist for one purpose: to defend the profits of big business. I pointed out that the Libertarians were in a contradiction when they supported a military budget and the "right" of U.S. big business to invest anywhere, and then claimed to be opposed to military intervention to guarantee this "right."

Royce is correct on one point. The *Militant* article erroneously attributed support of state "right to work" laws to the Libertarians. They oppose them.

This position does not flow from support to working people's right to organize. It comes from belief in the unrestricted right of the employers to dispose of their property as they see fit.

On the same grounds—absolute freedom for possessors of capital—the Libertarians oppose measures which provide legal guarantees of workers' right to organize.

Boston parents, teachers fight education cuts

By John Rees

BOSTON—About 1,500 parents and children rallied here March 1 to protest the proposed closing of twenty-seven Boston schools. Chanting "Save our schools" and "keep our schools open," they attempted to march to the home of Mayor Kevin White and later rallied at Faneuil Hall.

"We have gathered here this afternoon because of our commitment for our children's right to quality, integrated, full-funded education," declared Carmen Pola, CPAC (Citywide Parents Advisory Council). "We will not allow the mayor, the school committee, or any other politician in the city to close our schools."

Boston schools are currently projected to close in early April, two months before the scheduled end of the school year. Already 400 layoffs have been announced and more are planned. Bilingual programs are being cut back.

For several years, Democratic Mayor Kevin White has been pushing for school closings and reductions in the number of teachers. He helped initiate the crisis by freezing the school budget at last year's level of \$195 million, ignoring inflation and the raises guaranteed in the city's contract with the Boston Teachers Union. The School Department projected expenses for this year at \$230 million.

John Rees is Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston City Council.

Mayor White tried to rescind the 7.5 percent raise that teachers were to receive last fall. In February, courts ruled against him on this. He then demanded that the union voluntarily forgo the raise to keep the schools open. The Boston Teachers Union refused to back down, however.

Some \$7.7 million was cut from the budget in December and an additional \$3.3 million in March. The latest cuts are expected to result in 300 more layoffs.

The layoffs have sparked a debate about affirmative action in the Boston Teachers Union. Under court-ordered desegregation begun in 1974, preferential hiring has increased the number of non-white teachers to 17 percent, still short of the 20 percent goal. Currently 800 of the 900 provisional teachers are Blacks or other oppressed nationalities. These non-tenured teachers will be the first to be laid off.

At a tense March 11 membership meeting attended by more than 2,000 teachers, the BTU reaffirmed its adherence to strict seniority in layoffs. This position was supported by the union executive board. Black teachers turned out in large numbers to argue for an alternative which would protect the gains won under affirmative action. A statement distributed by teachers supporting affirmative action took on the union's position.

"We must abhor and resist the BTU's policy of firing the last hired,"

the statement said, charging that layoffs based on strict seniority would "perpetuate the effects of past discrimination against Black teachers by the School Department."

Boston schools are still under the supervision of the federal court. Judge W. Arthur Garrity will have to rule on the legality of the layoffs and school closings as they affect desegregation.

Hearings about the proposed cuts

have been jammed with teachers and parents. Kathleen Kelly, BTU president, spoke at the School Committee hearing which voted to close the schools.

"We urge you. We implore you. Do not make cuts now which will be irretrievable for the future of the school system," Kelly urged.

"Do not cut any more of our hearts out. We won't accept it."

1,000 Phila. transit workers march on city hall

By Josh Walton

PHILADELPHIA—Transport Workers Union Local 234 remains on strike here, resisting the take-back demands of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority. Among other things, SEPTA demands that the union go along with the hiring of part-time workers.

The striking workers, who operate the city's buses, subways, and trolleys, used flying picket squads to sporadically shut down ConRail commuter service and Red Arrow and Frontier transit lines. ConRail and Red Arrow workers have honored the picket lines.

Approximately 200 Red Arrow workers were suspended for this. They have been reinstated by court order.

On March 24, injunctions on picket

ing of ConRail and Red Arrow lines were tightened.

Local 234 has received a telegram of support from Sam Church, president of the United Mine Workers. He asked the TWU to join the miners and others in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania on March 28.

On March 19, about 1,000 TWU members and supporters marched on city hall. Their demands were: no fare hikes, no cutbacks, safe and secure service, no layoffs and no part-time workers, and decent wages and working conditions.

The marchers evaded police barricades and were admitted to the City Council chambers. Several council members spoke, claiming to support the strikers. Dominic DiClerico, president of Local 234, also spoke.

Potential grows for labor action vs. war moves

By Joel Britton
and Joanne Kuniansky

The March 28 demonstration to keep the Three Mile Island nuclear plant shut down, to demand jobs for all, and to back the United Mine Workers in their fight for a decent contract shows the potential for the organized labor movement to lead in action on social issues of great concern to millions of people.

Ten international unions sponsored the action, taking responsibility, along with the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, for publicizing it all over the country. And thousands of unionists will participate in the march and rally on the 28th.

Union support

Opponents of U.S. intervention in the civil war in El Salvador and anti-draft activists can take heart from these developments. The March 28 action and the growing opposition within unions to U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta show the potential for labor to play a leading role in the struggle to end U.S. intervention in Central America.

The big challenge is how to win the

backing of more unions, especially the big industrial unions, for actions against what could otherwise become the next Vietnam.

The stakes are high. And the unions—allied with Black and Latino community groups, church groups, and students—have the raw social weight and power to stop U.S. intervention.

Two marches on Washington have been called for May. Both oppose the draft and U.S. aid to El Salvador. But one—that called for Saturday, May 9, at the Capitol building—has the potential to draw broad labor backing that could result in significant participation by rank-and-file unionists. And the other—a confrontationist action set for Sunday, May 3, at the Pentagon—is an obstacle to winning such labor support.

Why two actions?

CARD calls May 9

The May 9 call came out of a national conference of 1,200 antidraft and solidarity committee activists in February in Detroit. The conference, sponsored by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, also en-

dorsed the March 28 action in Harrisburg.

The conference also called for an April 4-11 week of local antidraft activities and backed the April 11-18 local activities called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Democratic discussion

The action program was thoroughly and democratically discussed at the conference. Some 1,000 antidraft fighters voted for it. They did so as a conscious move to broaden labor backing for the struggle against U.S. war moves in El Salvador and attempts to reintroduce military conscription.

The sponsors of this action plan were Detroit CARD, one of the largest and most dynamic antidraft groups in the country; SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy); Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Young Workers Liberation League; and Young Socialist Alliance.

The confrontationist action for May 3 at the Pentagon was discussed at the Detroit conference and rejected in most workshops and regional caucuses.

The sponsor of the Pentagon action, a newly declared "coalition" calling itself the People's Anti-War Mobilization, refused to put its action forward for a vote at the conference session that adopted the March 28 and May 9 action program.

May 9 supporters worked with union officials and members in many cities to ensure a good turnout in Harrisburg and to lay the basis for union backing for the May 9 march on Washington. PAM abstained from this, going ahead with a publicity campaign aimed at creating the false impression that May 3 was a broad-based action.

Why the Pentagon?

At the CARD conference, activists pointed to the likelihood of arrests and needless victimization of participants in a Pentagon action. Dozens have been arrested in recent Pentagon actions.

The organizers of May 3 are aware that the probability of confrontation is built into Pentagon actions. This is what attracts them to that location.

It explains their insistence that the Pentagon is the site for the conclusion of the May 3 march.

In the February 27 issue of *Workers World*, Workers World Party leader Sam Marcy underlined "the need of the hour": an action "at a site which could scarcely be more appropriate—the Pen-

tagon, and all that it symbolizes."

PAM organizers signed up several hundred endorsers for May 3. Many of the more prominent were under the impression that they were backing an action called by the Detroit conference.

The PAM organizers, who in most cities are not active in the antidraft movement or in El Salvador solidarity committees, announced after the conference, in the February 20 *Workers World*, that they were going ahead with their action.

From this and later issues of *Workers World*, and from its followers' behavior in many cities, it is clear that this ultra-sectarian political current is not merely determined to have what they consider a more "radical" action at the Pentagon. It aims to block others from building a broader action that could begin to attract significant union support.

The Marcyite effort to block the 9th was dressed up as a call for "a united anti-war mobilization," a "unified demonstration on an agreed-upon date."

Leading antidraft and solidarity movement figures have attempted to combine the two actions. Some sought a non-confrontationist action on May 3.

Discussions took place for several weeks, until it became clear that the Marcyite sectarians would have nothing to do with such an action.

Sponsors for May 9

Meanwhile, supporters of a broad mobilization on May 9 have gone ahead with publicity and have begun an endorsement campaign, led by Detroit CARD. Initial endorsers include Machinists union president William Winpisinger; Rev. Ben Chavis, former Wilmington Ten defendant; and Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, Democrat of Colorado.

The national meeting of May 9 supporters in Harrisburg after the March 28 rally will register the progress that has been made and map further plans.

The meeting will be held at Bethel AME Church, Herr and Sixth Street. May 9 leaflets, posters, and buttons will be available.

For further information on how to get involved in the May 9 action, contact Detroit CARD, which is serving as a Midwest coordinating center, at (313) 833-8573 or the May 9 Mobilization office in Washington, D.C., at (202) 667-1645.

Thousands in solidarity actions

By Nelson González

Actions organized in commemoration of the death of El Salvadoran Archbishop Romero on March 23-24 showed the potential that exists to build a massive May 9 antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C.

Initial reports indicate that many thousands of people attended teach-ins, rallies, ecumenical services, and picket lines in solidarity with the people of El Salvador and against U.S. intervention. The actions were notable for the broad array of sponsors and speakers from the church, labor, Black and Latino groups, and the campuses.

In San José, California, 1,000 people marched and held ecumenical services. In Denver 500 people attended a mass and a march, chanting "No Draft! No War! Justice for El Salvador!" In Des

Moines, Iowa, another 500 people marched to a cathedral where the bishop of Des Moines presided over an ecumenical service.

Three thousand people in St. Paul, Minnesota, marched on the state capital where speakers included St. Paul Mayor George Latimer; Sam Pavnick, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 879; and Bob Killeen, regional sub-director of the UAW Community Action Program council.

A representative of the local chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) stressed the importance of supporting the March 28 antinuclear action in Harrisburg, as well as the May 9 antidraft demonstration in Washington.

He urged everyone to come to a planning meeting for May 9, which will be held in Harrisburg after the March 28 rally.

Ohio socialists challenge campaign disclosure laws

By Bob Rowand

CLEVELAND—On March 23 the Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign submitted a wrap-up summary to U.S. District Court in Columbus, Ohio, in their lawsuit seeking exemption from reporting names of campaign contributors under Ohio public disclosure law.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, Lynda Joyce, explained to the *Militant*, "Turning over these names would be like giving the FBI a ready-made hit list."

"The American Civil Liberties Union attorneys working on this case have obtained more than ten boxes of FBI files detailing a spying and disruption program in Ohio.

"These files show that the FBI maintained informers in several Cleveland banks to obtain financial records of the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP," Joyce said.

"They maintained informers on campuses around the state looking for YSA activity. They paid particular attention to Oberlin College, where national meetings of the SWP and YSA have occurred.

"In 1973 they sought to identify and locate every single person who attended the national convention at Oberlin College. The FBI notified the

Cleveland Transit System, Trans World Airlines, and Oberlin College of their investigation," Joyce said.

"More than 40 percent of the pages were not released and of those turned over, much was blanked out. We can assume that the worst abuses were held back."

Precedent for suit

At a February 20 press conference in Columbus, Ohio, John Powers, former SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in that state, pointed to a 1975 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, which set the precedent for the socialists' right to be exempted from the disclosure laws.

That decision states, "The evidence offered need show only a reasonable probability that the compelled disclosure of a party's contributors' names will subject them to threats, harassment, or reprisals from either government officials or private parties."

"Documents the SWP obtained here in Ohio explicitly detail this," Powers said.

The federal government has already been forced to exempt the Socialist Workers national campaigns because of the FBI and right-wing harassment.

Also speaking at the press confer-

ence was Andréé Kahlmoran. "Last December I was fired from my job as a structural assembler by Lockheed-Georgia Company," she said. "Fourteen others and I were fired because we were members or supporters of the SWP or YSA."

"My case is proof beyond doubt that public disclosure of our campaign contributors would subject them to potential harassment."

On February 23 testimony was presented before Federal Court Judge Kineary. ACLU lawyers Thomas Buckley and Ben Scheerer submitted thousands of pages of documentation of FBI spying and harassment.

Sworn testimony was taken from eleven witnesses. An officer from Alcoa Aluminum Company was one of those who took the stand.

In an earlier deposition to the ACLU lawyers an Alcoa official admitted that the company fired two members of the SWP, Louise Haberbush and Kathleen Fitzgerald, in March 1980, because of their politics. In the courtroom the Alcoa official admitted that the two socialists had perfect work records when they were fired.

Sherri Katz testified about being denied a job as a law clerk in Cincinnati after a security check confirmed

her membership in the YSA in 1968.

Ernie Abdo and Rick Mitts testified about being fired from their jobs at Lodge and Shipley Company in Cincinnati last year because of their socialist views.

Evidence was also introduced to document repeated right-wing harassment and violence directed against the SWP and YSA.

Last July the grand opening of the new Cleveland SWP offices was threatened by Nazis who said they would shoot up the event if it took place. A panel of three judges will rule on the case. A final decision is not expected for several months.

SWP office hit

SAN ANTONIO—Projectiles shattered the plate glass door and window of the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters here, sometime during the night of February 24.

At a February 25 news conference, SWP mayoral candidate Tony Prince denounced the attack and demanded police apprehend the persons responsible for it.

Where building trades officials go wrong

Nuclear power is no road to saving jobs

By Suzanne Haig

Taking advantage of the anxiety caused by persistent high unemployment, the nuclear power industry is bombarding workers not only with lies about the safety of nuclear power, but with promises that nuclear power will create jobs.

Some leading officials of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, who are concerned about the declining number of jobs in construction and the growing number of open shop contractors, are working closely with the nuclear power industry.

They have given strong support to nuclear power. In hopes of preserving union jobs, they have signed contracts with the industry that are detrimental to workers.

The nuclear industry exploits the situation for propaganda purposes, claiming that the labor movement is pronuclear.

Last June AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Building Trades President Robert Georgine, participated in the Second Annual Energy Advocacy Conference in Chicago. It was sponsored by the Heritage Foundation, now one of Reagan's favorite thinktanks.

The Heritage Foundation is dominated by Joseph Coors, a notorious reactionary out to destroy unions. Coors Beer has been on the AFL-CIO boycott list because of Coors' long refusal to recognize unions at his plants.

Other pronuclear outfits such as the Atomic Industrial Forum, the Edison Electric Institute, and energy and construction firms helped organize the conference. Many participating corporations were members of the Business Roundtable, a coalition of Fortune 500 firms.

The Roundtable is one of many employers' organizations campaigning to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, which requires union-scale wages for federally-funded construction, and for "right to work" laws.

Another Coors-backed outfit is the Mountain States Legal Foundation, also supported by Pacific Power and Light, Montana Power, and the like. Urged on by the MSLF, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers went to court against government regulations opposed by these very utilities, arguing that the regulations would cause union members to lose jobs.

The Nevada local of the International Union of Operating Engineers has contributed to the MSLF, whose former president, James Watts, is now Reagan's Secretary of the Interior.

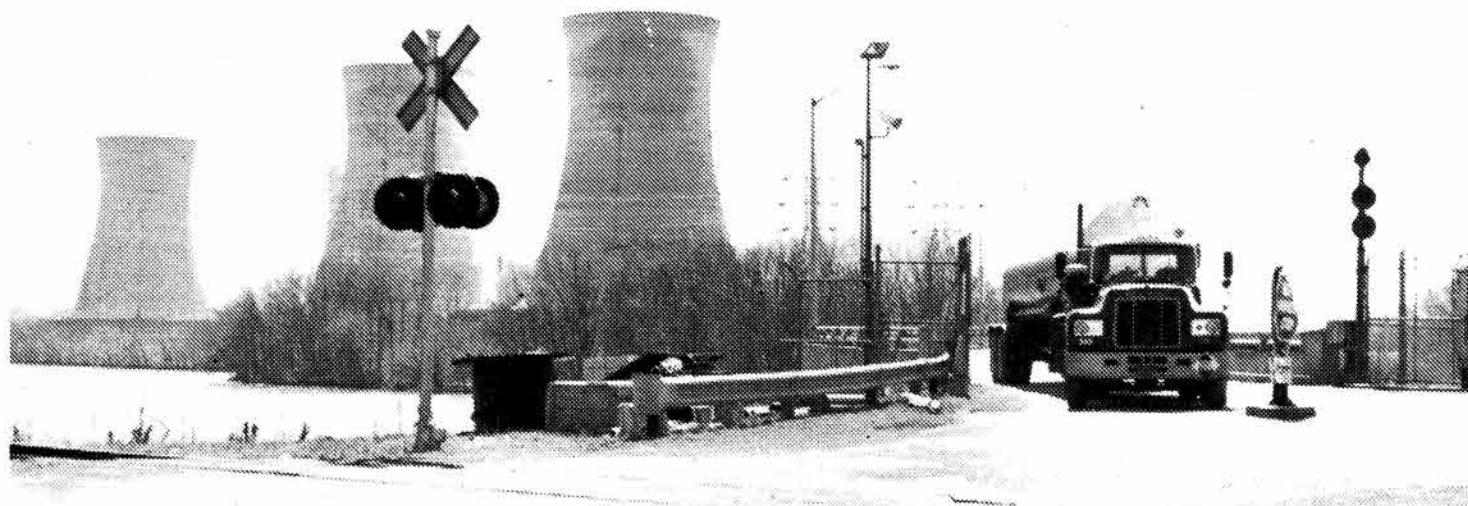
In 1978, officials of the building trades and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters signed the "Nuclear Power Stabilization Agreement" with the industry. It bars strikes and sets up a labor-management committee to determine wage rates and work rules. It allows craft and non-craft union workers to alternate between skilled and unskilled jobs. This allows the industry to have fewer workers, sometimes at lower rates.

In March 1980, building trades officials signed the "Three Mile Island Recovery Project Agreement" with Metropolitan Edison, operators of the damaged nuclear power plant. It covers the workers who are working on cleanup of the plant.

Like the 1978 agreement, it forbids strikes. Also walkouts, slowdowns, sit-downs, picketing "or other work stoppage or handbilling of any nature whatsoever for any cause whatsoever."

Any worker found "inciting, encouraging, or participating in any . . . activity in violation of this Agreement is subject to immediate discharge."

The agreement strictly limits workers' right to compensation for radiation damage. Workers receiving the maximum dose of radiation allowed by federal standards will receive a mere two-weeks' pay for becoming what the



Militant/Nancy Cole

Three Mile Island

industry likes to call radiation "sponges."

Dr. Judith Johnsrudd, co-director of Pennsylvania's Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power says that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has quietly given Met Ed permission to destroy all records relating to the clean-up after five years.

That will make it practically impossible for many clean-up workers to prove that injuries or diseases came from radiation exposure at TMI, since such illnesses as cancer often take much longer than five years to develop.

The clean-up procedures endanger the community as well as the workers. Met Ed hopes to dump 700,000 gallons of radioactive water into the Susquehanna River, drinking water for hundreds of thousands. Water with unsafe levels of radioactivity has been discovered leaking from the TMI containment building into the soil and groundwater.

The nuclear industry is using the same kind of job blackmail that Chrysler uses against auto workers. Give up rights—or be out of a job.

In this case, building trades officials cannot maintain the argument that the concessions are necessary to save jobs. The 2,000 jobs required for clean-up are the surest on the face of the earth. In order to prevent another disaster, the clean-up must proceed regardless of eco-

nomic conditions or decisions about the future of nuclear power.

More generally, the stance of the building trades officials has not saved jobs. The construction trades suffer from an unemployment rate of 17 percent, more than double the national rate.

Despite the concessions of building trades officials, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee is considering moves to amend or repeal the Davis-Bacon Act, according to the March 11 *New York Times*. The stance of the building trades officials has not helped defend union members, but has emboldened the employers and their government to step up attacks on the building trades and the rest of labor.

The policy these building trades officials have taken can lead them to economic as well as nuclear suicide.

But there is an alternative direction. The miners are also under attack by the employers, but they're not lying down—they're fighting back. They are showing the way to fight against Reagan's budget cutbacks, for jobs, and against nuclear power.

On March 9, more than 8,000 miners marched in Washington to demand an end to the proposed cutbacks of black lung benefits. Now the United Mine Workers are refusing to knuckle under to the energy barons and other billionaires who own the coal mines.

The UMWA is also at the head of the labor movement in the fight against nuclear power and for use of coal as an alternative until other energy sources can be developed.

An expansion of coal production will create jobs in mining, transportation, and construction. The production of alternative sources of safe energy will require many more construction jobs than now created by nuclear power plants—and these will be safe jobs, for workers and their families.

But the question of jobs goes beyond the energy industry. Today workers are threatened with job loss in practically every industry.

Clearly the unions will have to unite and fight together, along with those most victimized by unemployment: the oppressed nationalities, women, and youth. They will need to put forward a common program of jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and for a massive public works program to build needed hospitals, schools, housing, and public transportation. Only such a program can create thousands of jobs—including construction jobs—for the millions of unemployed.

The March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg has pointed the way forward. The demands of this action include safe energy and jobs for all—including alternative jobs at union rates for workers in the nuclear power industry.

This is a winning program put forward in a united action of the labor movement, environmentalists, and many other groups that recognize their stake in safe energy and jobs.

This is the direction in which the building trades and the entire AFL-CIO needs to go. And the best way for the building trades to fight for jobs *right now* is to defend the coal miners' fight for union rights against the energy industry today.

In January, some members of the building trades in Harrisburg picketed a meeting of the Greater Harrisburg Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, a sponsor of March 28.

Trade unionists in the meeting talked about their fellow unionists outside.

Paul Garver, of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union (SEIU) pointed out that the leaflet distributed by the picketers was put out by Americans for Energy Independence, a right-wing outfit. "This group is attempting to divide and dominate the labor movement, to make it support nuclear power," Garver explained. "The building trades are a minor part of this."

Gene Carroll, a Harrisburg resident, told the audience, "Be patient with these unionists. They are not the enemy. They are our brothers and sisters. When the facts become clear that it's not in the interest of working people to support nuclear power, they will come to our side."

Industry negligence kills two

By Mary Nell Bockman

SEATTLE—Two construction workers died and another was critically injured at the Satsop Nuclear Power Plant on March 9 because officials of the company they worked for decided a simple safety device was "cost prohibitive."

The workers, members of the Carpenters Union, were killed when the concrete form they were raising broke loose and fell onto the scaffolding where they were standing, throwing them seventy feet to the ground.

A laborer on the Satsop project, Dick Bindara, had designed a cable sling for the form in late 1979 because of the concern he and other workers had about safety.

He took his proposal to union and management officials in early 1980 and raised it at a safety meeting on the job. Bindara says, "Every engineer and operator agreed that it would work. I don't care why that platform fell; this would have prevented those guys from dying."

Bindara has been backed up by the business agent and secretary of his union, Laborers Local 374, who

said they were with him when he presented his proposal to Zurn Industries, the contractor on the site.

The project manager said he "didn't recall" ever seeing the proposal. The cost of the safety sling is estimated at \$1,000 to \$3,000, less than the top official of the power company building the plant makes in one day.

A preliminary finding stated that the accident was caused by a loose bolt in the steel form. A loose bolt may have caused the form to fall but those men died because of callous disregard by Zurn Industries for the safety of its workers.

The union is demanding a full investigation into the accident and negligence by the contractor. The Satsop construction site will remain shut down until the investigation is complete.

On March 11, a proposal to gut the workers compensation plan in Washington state drew 8,000 angry unionists to the state capital. Eighteen hundred Satsop construction workers participated. The demonstrators stood silent for a moment in memory of their dead brothers.

Unannounced inspections

Nicaragua's 'OSHA' listens to workers

By Lorraine Thiebaud

MANAGUA—Representatives of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) and the Ministry of Labor recently invited journalists here to accompany them on a series of health and safety inspections of workplaces.

Dr. Mario Epelman, head of the Labor Ministry's General Directorate of Occupational Health and Safety (DGHSO), gave us a preliminary orientation. His department had been organized five months after the revolutionary victory, Epelman said. Before, neither Somoza nor the other capitalists had ever shown any concern for workers' health and safety.

The DGHSO's initial inspections had yielded shocking results. Out of 123 factories, 109 were cited for failing to meet the workers' most basic needs—toilet facilities, drinking water, a place to eat lunch. One hundred twenty-one lacked adequate ventilation or lighting. At 96 sites, fire-prevention equipment was lacking, and at 83, biological or chemical contamination was discovered.

"The crudest exploitation and the most unhealthy conditions were the common denominators at all work sites," Epelman said—"total disregard for the lives and health of the working class."

Immense problems

There are tremendous obstacles and limitations to be faced by the new government in correcting this situation, Epelman said. Nicaragua is still a dependent economy, with underdeveloped productive forces and limited resources.

"When there is a noise problem, the first thing we would like to do is change the machine," Epelman explained, "but that's usually too expensive. So we have to sit down with the workers and figure out: Can we oil it? Can we isolate it? Can we muffle it?"

The DGHSO itself lacks adequate personnel, transportation, equipment, and even office supplies. It has only one noise meter and one camera, and no apparatus at all to monitor air contamination. But that is not what is most crucial, Epelman concluded: "We are convinced that working conditions will improve when the workers themselves take responsibility for health and safety."

CST leader Denis Meléndez said one of the unions' goals is to establish a health and safety committee at every workplace, with the task of guaranteeing immediate steps to provide drinking water, toilets, eating areas, and first-aid facilities and personnel.

The DGHSO will provide training and technical assistance to these committees.

Health and safety should become key topics in all contract negotiations, Meléndez said.

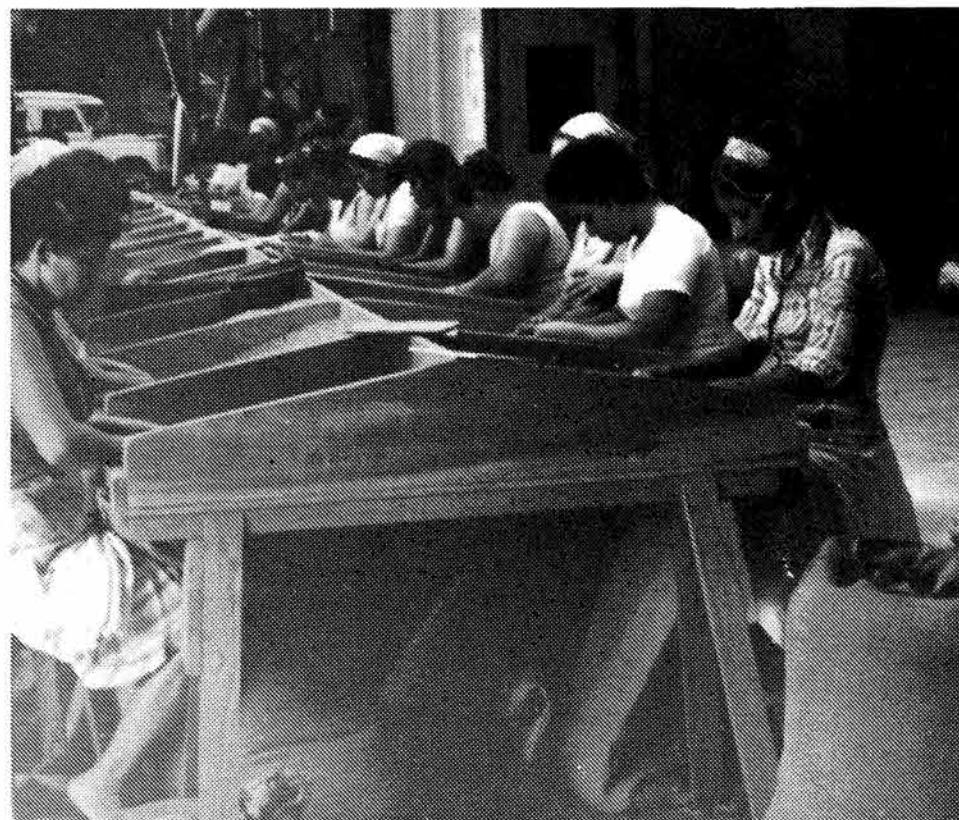
The first place we visited was PROCON, the cement factory that produces the paving stones that were dug up during the insurrection for use as revolutionary barricades. The Somozas owned 60 percent of PROCON, so that share of the plant is now in state hands.

PROCON employs 229 production workers. There seemed to be two categories—those who work under shelter and those who work under the blazing tropical sun.

Minutes after we entered the factory, our clothes, hair, and cameras were covered with a fine white powder. One could imagine the effect on the workers' lungs. They told us they suffered from chronic coughs. Some were using simple face masks recently made available, but others said the heat makes the masks insufferable after a few minutes.

Still shaking at night

Where the cement is mixed wet to be poured into molds, noise from the



Top: Women workers sorting beans at state-owned El Mejor Coffee plant. Worker-organized health and safety committee has improved ventilation and lighting, cleaned up factory drinking water. 'Before, when we asked for improvements,' said one worker, 'we got fired.' Occupational Health and Safety representatives also toured Coca-Cola bottling plant, above, where private management has tried to block improvements.

machines prevented normal conversation. The union grievance secretary, Noel Baltodano, said many workers suffered from permanent hearing damage. One worker leaned over to yell that the vibrations from the machinery sent him home still shaking every night.

We asked where the toilet and drinking fountain were. "Way over there," they laughed, "about half an hour away." We found the facilities near a garbage dump. The "shower" was a single pipe extending from a wall. It had long ago ceased to function, we were told, and no one liked to shower without privacy or towels anyway.

After the tour, union leaders explained a little of PROCON's history. The company was bankrupt and \$7 million in debt after the war. A \$5 million loan was secured, but the workers decided to make up the rest themselves by working at half-pay for four months. This was a big sacrifice for men who earn between 1,200 and 1,500 córdobas a month (10 córdobas = US\$1).

The unionists were most proud of the plant's new cafeteria. For the first time, the workers could leave the work area for a lunch break. The company

subsidized half the cost of meals, so the workers could eat for as little as four córdobas. The cafeteria provided not only wholesome meals but also a place for political meetings. Around the walls we could see handmade signs about a special collection taken up for "the brothers and sisters struggling in El Salvador."

Coffee processing plant

The CST representative gave us a rundown on the El Mejor Coffee plant as we rode in the back of a truck to the site in Tipitapa, a few kilometers east of Managua.

The factory is 100 percent state-owned. It had belonged to Manuel Estrada, a well-known Somozaist. He had owned coffee plantations, trucks for transporting his crop to the city, and the processing plant itself. He also held interests in the port facilities from which the coffee was shipped for export.

The government nationalized it all after the war. Estrada was imprisoned for eight months and then allowed to depart for Miami.

After discussing the plant's operations in "reactivation assemblies," the

workers had managed to boost production by 100 percent and thereby hire twenty more workers. Seventy-eight now work at El Mejor.

The machinery in the roasting and packing area had been imported from Germany and was far older than the plant's own twenty years. It gave off tremendous heat and noise. Old rags were wrapped around the handles to prevent burns; the original protectors were long gone.

Many of the El Mejor workers are women; I made a special point of talking to them. Many explained that they had started working on Estrada's plantations as children. "We've been raised here," one woman in the bean-sorting area said. "Many of us have been sitting here for twenty years looking at each other's ugly faces across these tables."

Eyesight destroyed

I tried to learn what they were doing, but their fingers moved so fast that the beans all looked the same color of gray to me. Many women have been forced out of their jobs when their eyesight fails after years of such work.

When we asked to see the first-aid facilities, the union representative introduced us to Victoria Rizzo, who managed a surprisingly well-stocked dispensary.

Victoria was a woman in her fifties, of peasant origin. She told us she had worked as a coffee selector for eighteen years, but had always had an interest in medicine. After the insurrection, she participated in a malaria eradication campaign and caught the attention of an army doctor. He arranged for her to take a four-month course in nursing, and the El Mejor workers voted her full pay for the duration of her studies.

When she returned, Victoria organized the first health and safety committee in the factory.

Victoria had arranged for a physician to make regular visits to the factory, and absenteeism has dropped substantially since she began her work. "I have made a lot of progress this year," Victoria told us. "The revolution gave me another chance in life."

Fire hazards, and cancer

As we drove up to the Quimicos Borden factory, I could see the familiar Borden trademark, Elsie the Cow, smiling down at us. A signboard informed us that the plant produced shoe cement, wood glue, formalin, and other chemicals whose names I failed to recognize.

The plant was fourteen years old, I was told, imported from Canada. Its main raw materials are imported from Japan. Eighty-five workers are employed there.

Eleven workers met us and rushed us into a back room for a meeting. The chief administrator and "the capitalist" were trying to obstruct the union, the group's spokeswoman explained. CST representatives were being kept out of the plant, and the management was insisting that health inspections could only be carried out with forty-eight hours advance notice.

The Labor Ministry representatives with us assured the workers that no advance notice was required for health inspections and that we could proceed with the tour.

First we stopped to watch women, seated on makeshift wooden horses, filling little plastic bottles with white glue. They complained of noxious fumes and a lack of ventilation.

Next we stopped to talk to José, who had worked in the plant for fourteen years. He had been at his current task for eight years—reaching down into a huge barrel with his right hand and bringing up a glob of sticky black resin. The resin went into a can; with his left hand, José pounded on a lid.

The DGHSO representative was alarmed to learn that José spent ten

minutes every evening washing the resin off his hands with toluene. Besides having narcotic-like effects on reflexes and thus causing accidents, toluene is usually contaminated with benzene, which causes leukemia and damages sperm cells.

José had never been informed of the dangers he faced.

The manager began following us as we walked through the factory. He wanted the DGHSO and CST representatives to talk to him but was politely told he would have to wait until after the inspection.

Then he latched onto me—an American journalist who he assumed would share the State Department's views on Nicaragua.

"They think they know it all, but I can tell you what's really going on," he confided. "This place has no lightning rods—it could explode in a minute if it ever got hit. And do you know what the effects of methanol are? Blindness. This factory is contaminating the whole community—we use city water and don't process it before dumping it into the sewer system. There must be more than seventeen different pollutants." He seemed very proud that he had shared his secrets with me.

As we drove up to the CERSA/Quaker Oats factory, I asked the CST representative to explain an article that had appeared that morning in the capitalist daily *La Prensa*. It had accused the union president at CERSA, Danilo Amoretti, of attempting to take away the workers' Christmas bonus and turn it over to the CST.

This was a typical *La Prensa* provocation, I was told. The company had always paid a Christmas bonus but had refused to improve working conditions. Now the Labor Ministry was proposing that the bonuses of those workers who earned more than 2,500 córdobas a month be placed in a fund for the construction of a small clinic that the workers and their families would be able to use.

"I have a letter here from the ministry authorizing a solution to the problem," the CST representative said. "If we didn't have it, we wouldn't be able to get in."

Posted on the plant gates was a sign that said: "Danilo—you can't come back until the bonus question is resolved. The workers."

Having the letter, we were allowed in. A meeting was immediately held and the agreement was explained to the seventy-eight CERSA workers. It was obvious that they were sharply divided over the bonus problem.

The women in the packing area expressed pride in their new uniforms and a union-operated shop where basic food items could be bought at discount.

But everyone was still arguing over the bonuses. The women were overwhelmingly in favor of the settlement—they said the problem was that the owner maintained big inequalities in the wages of men and women. Men earned about 4,500 córdobas a month, while women only received about 1,300.

The ex-president of the union took me aside to say that the real problem was that "there are too many women on the union board now—you know how women are." I told him I didn't, and he changed the subject to explain what a great guy the owner was. "We always went out to drink with him in the old days, and once a year he invited everyone out to his ranch for a big party."

Later Danilo, the new union president, explained that most of the men were pro-boss. "They call me a communist because I refuse to go drinking with them. They're all *machistas*. We have no organization here yet—no militias, no literacy campaign, no nothing."

As we were leaving CERSA, the CST representative said he hoped we were not too discouraged by what we had seen here. "It is good for you to see everything. We just have to be very patient. It will take a long time to undo the divisions the capitalists have sown in the working class."

From *Intercontinental Press*

Abortion rights under attack

By Vivian Sahner

On March 23, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a Utah law requiring doctors to notify teenage women's parents before performing an abortion.

New York Governor Carey has already announced he would favor a similar law.

In his decision, Chief Justice Warren Burger wrote, "The statute plainly serves the important considerations of family integrity and protecting adolescents."

Consider the alternative available to these young women: an illegal—and possibly lethal—abortion; an unwanted pregnancy; an unwanted child. Some protection.

The demagogic about protecting the family puts the Supreme Court's seal on the argument used by right-wing forces trying to ban all abortions.

National surveys consistently show the majority of Americans support a woman's constitutional right to a safe, legal abortion. It's a right women fought long and hard to win.

Lawmakers have persistently worked to undercut that victory. As Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, observed, "What we're now facing is an all-out attack."

The Hyde Amendment, passed in 1976, cut the number of Medicaid abortions by ninety-nine percent. Hundreds of thousands of women were denied the right to abortion because they were poor. Blacks and Latinos were especially hard hit.

This year, on February 15, Connecticut ended state funding for abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or when the mother's life is in danger. Georgia did the same on March 15.

This leaves only nine states and the District of Columbia that voluntarily fund Medicaid abortions.

More attacks are being planned.

Legislators are currently discussing bills that would eliminate abortions from the health coverage of federal employees and their dependents. This would affect some five million women.

Another measure would cut off federal funds to any institution that per-



Militant/Lou Howort

Lawmakers have severely undercut 1973 Supreme Court ruling that women have constitutional right to safe, legal abortion. New bills being discussed pose threat to all abortion rights.

forms abortions or teaches abortion procedures.

In April, two U.S. Senate subcommittees will begin discussion on the so-called Human Rights Bill, which would legally define a fetus as a person.

If passed, it would open the way for state legislators to outlaw abortions altogether. President Reagan has voiced his approval of this bill.

Growing numbers of women want to resist these attacks. For instance, the

100,000-member National Abortion Rights Action League reported 10,000 new members since the November election.

On February 4, three thousand supporters of women's rights, representing eighty organizations, converged on Capitol Hill. Included were members of the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, and the United Food and Commercial Workers.

They served notice that women will fight to stop the erosion of our rights.

Seattle celebrates Int. Women's Day

By Betsy Colwill

Three hundred women and men rallied in Seattle on March 8 to celebrate International Women's Day.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women sponsored the event, which was endorsed by a broad spectrum of unions and women's rights organizations, including the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 751, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1001, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 843, the King County Labor Council, Seattle National Organization for Women, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Seattle Women Act for Peace.

Lorraine Howell, past president of Seattle NOW, drew prolonged applause from the audience when she accused Reagan of "cutting the budget at the expense of milk for school lunches while spending money for military aid to El Salvador."

Steve Gouras, president of UFCW Local 1001, stressed the importance of united action by labor. "We, the people who produce all the wealth, are being duped. As Ralph Nader said, 'The Democrats and Republicans are like Tweedledee and Tweedledum.' We must all speak out, because not only women's rights, but the entire labor movement is at stake."

Elaine Bernard, staff historian for the British Columbia (Canada) Telecommunications Workers Union and chair of the women's committee of the BC New Democratic Party (the Canadian labor party), provided stirring



Militant
Steve Gouras, president of UFCW Local 1001, addressed rally. 'As Ralph Nader said, the Democrats and Republicans are like Tweedledee and Tweedledum.'

examples of the power of united labor. She said, "The BC labor movement has declared war on employers and the government: on the economic front, in the fight for decent contracts; and on the political front, in the struggle for an NDP government."

She described how the workers of her own union, after 16 months of unsuccessful contract negotiations, occupied the offices of BC Telephone Co. and ran the system successfully for five days.

When forced to leave by court injunction, they walked out into a full-fledged

strike. They are now supported by 25,000 unionists on rotating strikes, demanding nationalization of BC Tel, she said.

Simultaneously, 10,000 workers from the Canadian Union of Public Employees struck over the issue of equal pay for equal work, winning inside women workers the same base wage as outside male workers earn. "With the power of the labor movement behind us, we can win equality," said Bernard.

Beth Quale, of the Washington Equal Rights Amendment Coalition, reviewed the unratified states and outlined ways that unions and community organizations could work for the ERA.

Mary Deaton, steering committee member of the Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance, declared, "Our social gains lose all meaning if we must become slaves to our bodies."

Anna Maria Freund, from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, explained how women have been fully incorporated into the liberation movement there, composing 40 percent of the rebel forces.

Other speakers were Tom Baker, president of IAM District 751, and Bonnie Olson of the Committee in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People. Entertainers sang labor songs.

Anna Padia, member of the Newspaper Guild and spokesperson for CLUW, summed up the mood when she declared the meeting to be part of the "international spirit" working for "justice and equality for women in every aspect of life and in every part of the world."



Miners like these fell victim to first big spy operation by Pinkertons and government.

By Stu Singer

"We know they have spies in the union. They'd have cameras in your house if they could," he said. "Probably in some cases they do."

The president of a union local in Texas was talking to André Kahlmoran.

"These are union-busting tactics," he said, referring to what Kahlmoran had just told him about what happened to her.

Kahlmoran is one of fifteen Lockheed workers suddenly fired in Georgia in December and January. The reason, the company claimed, was "falsifications" on their employment applications. But it didn't add up.

Workers know that when you are handed an employment application, you put down what you need to put there to get the job. It happens every day.

There was something else behind it. André Kahlmoran and the others are good unionists. Most are also members of the Socialist Workers Party or the Young Socialist Alliance.

It just so happens that the socialists have a suit against government spying and harassment. Through the suit they were able to go into court and get Lockheed to turn over secret, internal documents.

The story the files told was hard evidence of the kind of thing many workers suspect their bosses do, but can never prove. It involved spying on union meetings, tailing employees off the job, spying on their political activity, and prying into their personal lives.

The workers also learned the firings had been engineered in collusion with the FBI.

The firings will be an issue when the socialist suit goes to trial next month.

Kahlmoran and others fanned out around the country, alerting others about what had happened to them.

Through talking to dozens of unionists, including some top officials, they discovered that what they

had brought to light at Lockheed was just one small piece of a much bigger thing.

In this country today there is a vast, largely invisible, interconnected web involving company security; private detective agencies; state, city, and local cops; the FBI; and other federal agencies.

One security cop at Lockheed, for example, is an ex-FBI employee. When he wanted details of the lives of some of those they fired, he just phoned an old friend at the FBI, the internal files showed.

But Lockheed is not unique. "Labor relations is full of old FBI agents," a United Auto Workers official told Kahlmoran. "That's who they usually hire."

Workers should be on guard for things to get worse. As more begin to do what the coal miners are doing—resisting the company/government attacks—their adversaries will use every means at their disposal to beat them down.

This article will look at some examples of the use of labor spies, today and yesterday.

Molly Maguires

The Molly Maguires, the boss-owned press said, was a secret terrorist group of Irish coal miners in eastern Pennsylvania.

Nobody has ever proved that the Molly Maguires ever existed. But there is no doubt about the antilabor operation against the miners.

Franklin Gowen was head of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. He was out to crush the miners' efforts to organize. He got help from the Pinkerton Agency, state and local police, the courts, and the newspapers.

Gowen cut the miners' pay. They answered with a strike. A Pinkerton agent, James McParlan wormed his way among the miners. During the struggle he emerged as a spy, fingering the main union leaders as murderers.

On McParlan's word, four miners were convicted and hanged on June 21, 1877. They died protesting their innocence.

This type of frame-up is practiced to this day.

San Diego frame-up

A case in point: the NASSCo shipyard frame-up in San Diego.

Dangerous working conditions and substandard wages provoked militant struggles by the workers. The cops and the company got together and cooked up a scheme.

An undercover cop, Ramon Barton, was sent into the yard. He appeared to be one of the most vocal and belligerent workers in the strikes and protests. But just as the workers were starting to make real progress, he emerged as a cop. He alleged that three of the leaders in the yard were involved in a plan to blow up a power plant.

The news media went all out to push the frame-up. A red-baiting drive was whipped up around the fact that some of the unionists are members or supporters of the Communist Workers Party.

But this didn't have the impact it was supposed to on the workers in the yard. They elected some of the frame-up victims as officers of their local of the Iron Workers union.

The national leadership has since put the local in receivership.

1919 steel strike

More than 300,000 workers shut down most of the steel industry in 1919. But after three and a half months the steelworkers went back. The strike was broken.

Company spies had a big hand in the defeat. They wormed their way into the leadership of the strike committee in Akron, Ohio, for instance.

A spy agency sent the following message to its agents in a South Chicago steel mill: "We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Serbians and Italians. Spread data among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred between these two nationalities"

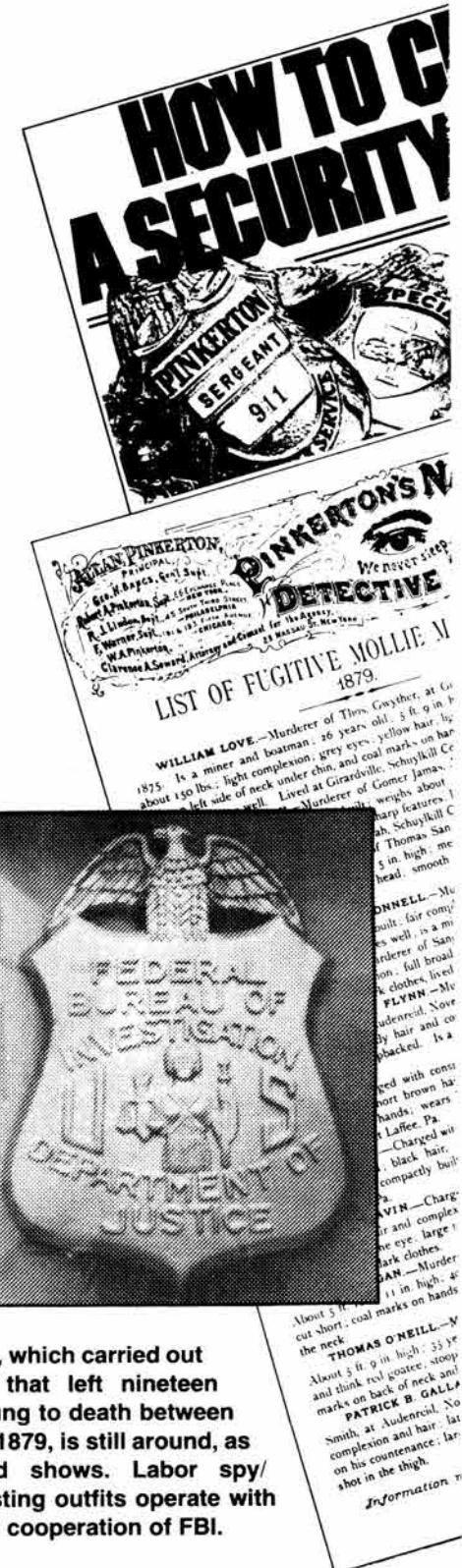
During the 1977 steel strike unionists on the Mesabi Iron Range in northern Minnesota passed around a book they got from the library. Long out of print, *Spies in Steel* contains secret spy reports sent to management in the post-World War I period. The bosses used the reports to single out, harass, and fire union-minded workers. Government agents, local cops, private detectives, and right-wing anti-union groups collaborated against the workers.

Labor spy racket

Some years later, a congressional committee, known as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, held hearings on labor spying in the late 1930s.

Spies aga

Spying against Lockheed socialist suit, is only one p all workers.



Pinkerton, which carried out frame-up that left nineteen miners hung to death between 1877 and 1879, is still around, as recent ad shows. Labor spy/union-busting outfits operate with cover and cooperation of FBI.

They uncovered a flourishing racket in providing labor spies for management.

The committee learned, for example, about the spy John Andrews, who managed to become a local union vice-president. He worked closely with auto workers-union leader Richard Frankenstein during the 1934-36 period at Chrysler. Andrews drew a second salary, from Corporations Auxiliary Company, which had a lucrative contract with Chrysler.

The spy agencies recruited by running seemingly innocent ads to lure workers with the skills needed for the targeted companies. This, too, is still going on. (More on that later.)

As the New Deal gave way to the "War Deal," Franklin Roosevelt directed the FBI to massively expand its operations against labor unions and radicals. The labor spy racket became a service provided for the bosses at public expense.

In September 1940, FBI field offices were instructed to recruit or place informers in each of the nation's "war plants." By September 1942, there were 23,746 spies in nearly 4,000 plants.

But the private labor spy/union-busting racket is not dead. In fact, recent years have seen a new proliferation of these outfits.

The November 15, 1980, *AFL-CIO News* told of a company spy who came out and blew the whistle on the people he was working for. Needing work, he answered an ad promising travel. A Memphis, Tennessee, security firm sent him to Medina, Ohio. His job was to stop a United Furniture Workers organizing drive at Donn Corporation. When it became clear what was up, he turned the tables on

UMWA official puts request to Reagan

When he heard about the firings of the Lockheed workers, Joe Jurczak decided there should be a law against what happened to them. Staff coordinator for the Pennsylvania United Mine Workers Political Action Committee, Jurczak sent a letter to President Reagan.

"I believe that no worker should be discriminated against because of political beliefs or union activities," he said. ". . . I ask that you use your tremendous personal influence in getting legislation introduced to ban such tactics in the future and see that the fired workers at Lockheed are reinstated."

"As an American citizen, as a coal miner, and as a representative of a great union, I would like to believe that the differences between our democratic system of government with its emphasis on individual freedoms and that of communist totalitarian states are ones of substance and not rhetoric."

Anti-labor

onists, uncovered by
of bigger problem facing



bosses.
AFL-CIO figures show that there are 1,000 firms engaged in union-busting activity today. This is a \$100 million-a-year business.

These companies advise businesses on how to break union organizing drives, or how to get rid of unions. They organize high-priced seminars throughout the country. But they do more than advise.

Anti-union campaigns

Another Memphis firm, Ballew, Reinhardt and Associates, orchestrated the right-wing anti-union campaign to keep the United Auto Workers out of the General Motors Saginaw steering gear plant near Decatur, Alabama.

Ballew, Reinhardt is described by the *Wall Street Journal* as a "management consulting firm specializing in labor relations."

Their "consultations" this time were to spread stories that the UAW is anti-religious and that workers from the North would take jobs from local people if the union were voted in. Anti-union forces forged the name of a union organizer on a Ku Klux Klan card.

In a case that dragged through the courts for years, Southwire Company of Carrollton, Georgia, was found guilty of violating numerous National Labor Relations Board rulings in trying to stop organizing drives by two electrical workers unions. A 1970 court ruling said, "Southwire hired the Roman Security Agency Inc. to provide security services. Roman placed undercover agents in the plant who masqueraded as ordinary employees. The procedures employed by the agency displayed cloak and dagger techniques worthy of the CIA."

Gestapo tactics

In other cases companies don't go outside to hire these crooks. They do it themselves.

For years the steelworkers union has been trying to organize DuPont. *Steelabor*, the paper of the United Steelworkers, reported on DuPont memos that "reveal that the company spies on its employees, using Gestapo tactics, violating worker rights guaranteed under the National Labor Relations Act. . . .

"The memos report the content of the union's meetings, who spoke, how many attended and future meeting schedules. Such information does not reach the company listening post by means of a DuPont psychic."

Several months back a UAW official revealed that it is common practice for the auto giants to bug rest rooms and place informers among workers to find out who is drinking or smoking dope on the job. The information is used selectively to fire people.

The Communications Workers of America is challenging the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to stop supervisor surveillance of operators' conversations.

In 1979 Grumman Aerospace Corporation agreed to pay the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union \$10,000 in damages for an illegal spy operation in Milledgeville, Georgia.

The union dropped similar charges against J.P. Stevens, the textile firm, as part of an agreement in which Stevens signed its first union contract ever last October.

The evidence showed a conspiracy between Stevens, Concord Fabrics, Meadows Industries, the city mayor and police chief, the manager of a Holiday Inn, and security agents from Grumman.

Among other things, police were stationed in a room of the Holiday Inn, where union organizers were staying. They wrote down license numbers of all cars driven by workers coming to talk to the union organizers. The police then got the names of the workers and gave them to Stevens and other companies to help fight unions.

Government help

Frequently, private companies are able to simply rely on the government for help in union busting.

Leon Davis, president of Local 1199 National Union of Hospital Employees revealed that New York state medicaid funds are used to pay the cost of anti-union drives by hospitals and nursing homes.

Davis pointed to payment for "gun-carrying security guards and scabs from union-busting agencies" at a New York home for the aged.

The government reportedly processes 9,000 name checks a day from government contractors screening employees.

Paul Vanotti was fired in 1978 from a job with Hughes Aircraft near Los Angeles. Company personnel officials got an FBI Cointelpro document labeling him as "dangerous." (The FBI has claimed for many years that files from the Cointelpro program were not in use.)

Vanotti's name got in the files because he had been involved with the El Camino College SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) chapter in Torrance, California, in the late 1960s. Vanotti is now suing the government for \$2 million.

The information on Vanotti was originally compiled by an FBI informer named Vincenzo Lawlor. In 1969 Lawlor shot and killed another SDS member who discovered her identity as a government agent. The murder was ruled "self-defense" by the local police and Lawlor left the area, her identity concealed by the FBI.

In the interest of all workers

The SWP and YSA suit is challenging the fundamental legal framework for the government's involvement in these antilabor operations—and, by extension, all the private and company stool pigeons who operate in cahoots with the government.

The government bases itself primarily on the Smith Act, as well as on a series of presidential orders establishing a "loyalty program" in certain "sensitive industries." These thought-control measures start with the proposition that the government can violate some people's rights—including the right to a job—because of their ideas.

At the trial of their suit the socialists will in effect be asking the court to declare this whole business unconstitutional.

Already, through the exposures around Lockheed, the socialists have succeeded in blowing the cover on the companies and the government before the eyes of thousands of workers. In itself, that is a major accomplishment.

Many workers will be watching the trial when it opens. They will have a chance to get a closer look at the hidden aspects of how the government safeguards the rule of the rich capitalists. They will also be able to find out more about the ideas the government wants to suppress.

Help us get out the truth about the miners

Dave Prince

The boss-owned media like to portray the contract demands of the United Mine Workers as excessive and even absurd. They fear the sport the miners are inspiring long working people throughout the country.

But through the pages of the *Militant*, the miners themselves are talking about why their demands are.

The *Militant* already has staff reporter Stu Singer traveling through the coal fields. Its pages will be devoted to getting out the miners' side of the story, as well as covering and building the solidarity movement.

As part of a circulation campaign to get out the truth about the miners'

struggle, the *Militant* will be putting teams on the road throughout the country—bringing the *Militant* to miners and other working people.

For the last three weeks a team based in Charleston, West Virginia, has been traveling throughout the state—to Cabin Creek, Dry Branch, Logan, Beckley, and other places where miners have fought stormy battles against coal operator attacks. Another team has been in the Harrisburg area.

The teams have been distributing leaflets and building support for the March 28th Harrisburg march in solidarity with the mineworkers and selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers. During the first two weeks, the Charleston team signed up 38 new *Militant* subscribers

and sold 135 single issues. Team members wear green ribbons in solidarity with the Black community of Atlanta.

Other teams are being planned around the country.

We need your help. The *Militant* is faced with skyrocketing costs. This month another boost in postage rates went through. Travel costs for our reporters will be up by fifty percent in 1981.

The Socialist \$75,000 Fund will help the *Militant* champion the cause of working people. The fund was launched in conjunction with a fight by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government spying and harassment. On April 2 the SWP and YSA will bring the government to

trial for the crimes it has committed to stop the socialists from getting out their Marxist ideas.

At the trial, the socialists will explain how they champion the fightback, today spearheaded by the mineworkers, against Reagan and the bosses' offensive against working people.

The socialists will counterpose their alternative—a society governed by working people and based on meeting human needs—to the bosses' plans for more attacks on the economic and political rights of working people, intervention in El Salvador, and increasing risk of nuclear catastrophe.

Every dollar counts. We have already collected \$53,894.56, in contributions of \$1 to \$1,000.

Where we are

Collected to date
\$53,894

\$75,000

A bad deal in Chicago

FBI wants court OK for dirty tricks

By Harry Ring

The FBI certainly isn't doing anything to clean up its act. But it's trying hard to clean up its image.

Such image-cleansing requires endorsements from respected quarters. One such endorser is the *Washington Post*, an authoritative capitalist daily regarded as liberal.

The February 28 issue of the *Post* featured a major article on how the agency's director, William Webster, is creating a "new" FBI.

"Civil libertarians," the article asserts, "credit Webster for the even-handed way the bureau appears to be conducting its investigations. Gone are the black-bag days of illegal entries and wiretaps, of undercover infiltrations of student and political movements, of electronic surveillance of public figures. . . ."

And, to give added credence to this bunk, the paper cites another respected voice.

American Civil Liberties Union attorney Jerry Berman told the *Post*, "I think Webster has moved the FBI away from politics and toward a focus on real criminal interests. It's a healthy focus."

Unfortunately, Berman, and other ACLU officials, are going beyond mere words. They are actively promoting legal settlements which would put the seal of approval on illegal political activity by the FBI—the kind of illegal activity the ACLU is supposed to be fighting against.

For instance, consider what they have done in Chicago.

Bad settlement

There, along with a local group known as the Alliance to End Repression, ACLU officials are trying to ram through settlement of a class-action suit against the FBI and various other federal and local police agencies that systematically violated the civil rights of Chicagoans.

Potentially affected by this are various Black organizations, peace groups, the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and other targets of illegal cop activity.

Recently, as reported in the *Militant*, the ACLU and Alliance to End Repression agreed to a negotiated settlement of the case. When the terms were disclosed, the settlement was opposed by the SWP, YSA, CP, and numerous others.

For the FBI, the settlement would be a bargain-basement deal. It would permit them to continue, with judicial sanction, activities that violate the Bill of Rights. And they would enjoy the added political benefit of having such an agreement stamped with the ACLU's "good housekeeping" seal of approval.

In their objection, participants in the class-action suit noted that under the terms of the proposed agreement the FBI and other police agencies involved would make no admission of their past offenses, much less compensate the victims. And, most important, there is nothing in the agreement to assure an end to the spying, infiltration, harassment and victimization of that broad spectrum of groups deemed "subversive" by the political cops.

Ducked issue

Attempting to answer the objections to the proposed settlement, the ACLU made no serious effort to do what was obviously called for—to put the FBI on the witness stand and elicit from it precisely what the agreement means in terms of ending its illegal activity.

Instead, the ACLU put two of its own people on the stand to "interpret" the agreement. These were Jerry Berman, who says he thinks the "new" FBI is doing a fine job, and Morton Halperin, a former government official



Jimmy Kutcher was victim of the government's 'loyalty' purge instituted by President Truman. Kutcher, who lost both legs in World War II, was fired from Veterans Administration job in 1948 for 'crime' of membership in Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher, supported by SWP and many others, fought back. Courts ordered him reinstated in 1956. Chicago settlement approved by ACLU leaves foundations of government persecution of dissenters untouched and gives go-ahead to police-state methods.

who now heads an ACLU adjunct. Halperin insisted the proposed settlement was not only fair and reasonable, but went "substantially beyond that."

While the FBI appreciates such praise, it apparently doesn't want too much.

On March 12, the Justice Department addressed a letter to the presiding judge, which advised that the testimony of Berman and Halperin was "generally consistent" with the FBI's interpretation of the terms of the agreement.

But the main emphasis of the letter was on what the settlement does *not* mean. The points add up to a rather large "but."

For instance, the letter agrees the FBI cannot legally investigate activity which, "if carried to completion would not be unlawful."

But, the FBI hastily adds, "It does not mean that an investigation cannot be initiated unless an individual or organization has engaged in or is engaged in some criminal conduct or some activity in furtherance of criminal conduct."

You don't need a law degree to see that the second paragraph negates the first.

Halperin's "assurance"

In his testimony, Halperin asserted the agreement would "prohibit the FBI from carrying on an investigation of a group if the only information the FBI has is that the group advocated in a general way revolution or violent overthrow of the Government."

This interpretation, the FBI cautiously responds, is "in all probability" not "substantively inconsistent with ours."

What is theirs?

"It is our position," the Justice Department explains, "that the FBI has

broad discretion in institution of investigations, and that advocacy of illegal conduct, however general or unspecific in nature, is not immune from investigation." (Emphasis added.)

In a March 20 statement, Andrew Pulley, 1980 SWP presidential nominee, assailed the proposed settlement. Of the Justice Department/FBI letter, Pulley said, "It has already been shown . . . that the FBI's concept of 'broad discretion' gives it the right to investigate not only socialists, but any Black organization, trade union, peace group, or student, women's, or religious group that it wants."

"And they have always done this claiming that these groups advocate illegal conduct."

Pulley noted the substance of the letter is similar to documents filed by the government in preparation for the SWP and YSA suit against it for violations of basic liberties.

In a recently submitted document in that case, Justice Department lawyers candidly stated: "The government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change . . . even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law."

A danger to all

This is precisely the issue on which partisans of civil liberties cannot concede a particle of an inch. If constitutional guarantees do not apply to advocates of revolutionary change, then others are not safe either. In fact, the government can and does easily stretch "advocate revolutionary change" to include a broad array of activities—from organizing for socialist revolution to advocating that coal is safer than nukes.

The attempt by the ACLU attorneys and Alliance to End Repression to impose the Chicago settlement includes another exceptionally bad feature. It is one that can only be characterized as a shameless capitulation to red baiting.

Their brief tries to answer the very substantial objection that the FBI can evade the intent of the settlement by simply labeling a target group "an agent of a foreign power."

First, the brief tries to duck the issue with the assertion that "only a small number of domestic political groups or activists are now under 'foreign counterintelligence' surveillance."

The document adds: "On the other hand, current foreign counterintelligence investigations also include the 'Communist Party, U.S.A., and related groups and individuals.'

"Although plaintiffs are not aware of evidence sufficient to justify" this pretext for trampling on the rights of the Communist Party, and others, they have declared it would not be "prudent" to demand a halt!

With justice for some?

For all practical purposes, this excludes the Communist Party from even the miserable terms of the proposed settlement, which is limited to "domestic security" issues.

A footnote to the pro-settlement brief advises: "It borders on the inconceivable that the FBI would voluntarily agree to stop investigating the Communist Party at the present time."

True enough. The FBI would never "voluntarily" agree to anything that would trim its claws, particularly its long overworked justification for all its crimes—the "communist menace."

Rather than assuming it "inconceivable" that the FBI would give up hounding the Communist Party, it is essential to wage a resolute fight against this "foreign agent" swindle. This is a prerequisite for defeating the political cops.

Throughout American history—and much of world history—the demagogic cry of "foreign agent" has been dear to the hearts of the forces of reaction.

The Palmer raids after World War I were justified as cleansing the country of "alien filth."

During World War II, the entire Japanese-American population was herded into concentration camps as real or potential "foreign agents."

Harry Truman's "loyalty oath" program was inaugurated as a weapon against "foreign agents."

The blockade of Cuba is justified on the grounds that the island is an "agent of a foreign power."

And the alibi for Washington's aid to the murderous Salvadoran junta is the need to seal off the country from . . . "foreign agents."

Nor is it true that domestic "foreign power" probes are limited to the Communist Party and those deemed to be associated with it. Although that would be reason enough to oppose it.

Foreign agents" everywhere

Relatives and friends of members of the Weather Underground were targeted for illegal break-ins and surveillance with the assertion that the Weatherpeople, too, were "foreign agents."

And we have seen how partisans of Puerto Rican independence have been persecuted and framed as involved with "international terrorists."

For some time now, the government has tried to justify its illegal activity against the SWP by conjuring up a fictitious association with "foreign terrorists."

Today, fighters for civil liberties need to speak out against those who would rather prettify the FBI than fight it, and who find it "inconceivable" to challenge the sinister "foreign agent" weapon of the witchhunters.

Women steelworkers' stake in District 31 race

By Marie Head

GARY, Ind.—Hundreds of women Steelworkers will meet on March 30 at the fourth annual United Steelworkers 31 Women's Conference.

Support to the fight for women's equality has become a big issue in the hotly contested race between James Balanoff and Jack Parton for director of District 31, whose 110,000 members make it the biggest in the USWA.

On the basis of campaign platforms, it might appear that the candidates feel the same about putting the Steelworkers squarely behind the struggle for women's rights.

Jack Parton, the president of USWA Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works, has a program that sounds pretty good.

It states that "ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in Illinois should remain a high priority."

It calls for "continuation of the District 31 Women's Conference to include programs on sexual harassment and affirmative action."

It urges establishment of a "study committee to evaluate the need for daycare facilities funded by employers for single and married parents."

Some of Parton's female supporters have organized a women's committee for his campaign to further the notion that he's a pro-women's rights candidate.

Parton an obstacle

Women in Local 1014 have organized to work for our rights as union members and as women—inside the mill, in the USWA, and as part of the women's movement.

But the Parton administration has been an obstacle every step of the way.

On the ERA front, the Parton leadership, which dominates Local 1014's life, has regularly blocked union participation in pro-amendment activities.

Women from the local marched in the April 29, 1978, Chicago ERA demonstration of 2,500 despite Parton's declaration that the union shouldn't "meddle in Illinois politics."

His caucus succeeded in preventing women from being called off from work on union business—even without pay—to attend the action.

While District 31 Director Balanoff chartered Steelworker buses to go to Washington on July 9, 1978, for the 100,000 person march which won extension of the deadline for passing the ERA, the Parton team turned a deaf ear to women who wanted the union to send Local 1014 members.

Parton also opposed sending a delegation to the historic April 26, 1980, labor conference on the ERA in Chicago. Hundreds of unionists attended, including AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and other top leaders.

Balanoff assigned a staff member to build the conference.

On May 10, 1980, when 30,000 ERA supporters marched in Chicago, Local 1014 women were there—despite the Parton regime's refusal to send representatives or call off working members to go.

Balanoff, and Leon Lynch, USWA international vice-president for human affairs, led the USWA contingent at this event. Parton didn't bother to show up.

Women's committees

Under Balanoff's administration, District 31 pioneered Steelworker women's conferences, which other districts have now begun to organize.

These meetings have encouraged local unions to authorize women's com-



USWA District 31 Director James Balanoff, left, faces Jack Parton in upcoming elections. Parton claims to support women's rights, but his record shows otherwise.

mittees in order to better involve women in union activity.

These committees have helped create a union framework for discussing the problems facing female steelworkers. This strengthens our unions as a whole, by educating it about such problems and forging greater unity.

The majority of District 31's basic steel locals have women's committees.

But not Local 1014, where Parton contends they are "divisive."

The August 1979 local bylaws meeting defeated a proposal to authorize a women's committee. Phil Cyprian, a key Parton supporter and head of the Local 1014 grievance committee, argued that there was as much need for a women's committee as for a "Greek committee."

Attitudes like that are what's really divisive.

The Local 1014 leadership has urged women instead to take our problems to the union civil rights committee.

But in my four years in Local 1014, there hasn't been one report from the civil rights committee. Women seeking to file grievances through it, hoping to speed up the process, have been turned away.

Parton's platform on women implies that district women's conferences have not taken up affirmative action or sexual harassment.

Facts prove otherwise. It was from resolutions passed at civil rights and women's conferences that Balanoff went ahead and initiated the largest Steelworker-organized protest against Brian Weber's racist court suit in 1979, aimed at eliminating the USWA's right to negotiate affirmative action

guidelines in union contracts. The Gary meeting drew more than 500 people in a powerful show of unity between the union, women, and the Black community.

Until his election campaign began unofficially a year ago, it wasn't unusual for women to be heckled by Parton flunkies at Local 1014 meetings, as I was several times while speaking in favor of active support by the union for women's rights.

Under Balanoff, District 31 conferences have been places where all steelworkers could speak. Parton would like to change that.

But now that Parton is on the campaign trail, his act has been cleaned up a bit.

What can't be erased is the record, the real performance of the Parton leadership on women's rights.

Because more and more unionists, especially steelworkers, see how closely linked the aims of the labor movement and the women's movement are, Parton can't campaign on this record.

That would cost him votes among male as well as female USWA members.

It would show him to be more reactionary than the conservative international leadership of the USWA, which has occasionally responded to membership pressure that our union do more in support of women's rights.

And since Parton is the international's favorite son against Balanoff—who has been out in front on women's, among other, issues—a new Jack Parton has been fashioned.

That image, in the absence of widespread knowledge about his real his-

tory, has won some women unionists to his side.

The overwhelming majority of women activists and officers in District 31, however, back Balanoff.

On March 18, the predominantly-female Local 13796 from the Northern Indiana Public Service Co. (NIPSCO), who recently completed an eight month strike, cast their nominating ballots for district director. Almost 20 percent of the union's 1,000 members—an unusually high turnout—voted.

Parton had campaigned seriously among them. The vote? Balanoff 165, Parton 3.

A better situation

These women didn't vote for Balanoff because he has "given" us anything, but because it's a fact that with his administration, women have been in a better situation to organize, to educate, to help mobilize our brothers and sisters in the struggle for women's rights.

That has made our union stronger, and won us new allies and friends outside the labor movement.

We need to do much more of this kind of activity, and on a wider number of issues.

We're confronted by a stepped-up campaign of union-busting and take-away demands by the bosses.

Reagan's cutbacks are an attack on all those who work or want to work, and will fall doubly hard on Blacks and Latinos.

There is a growing offensive against women's rights—moves to cut back childcare, affirmative action, and the right to choose abortion. There is real danger that the ERA might be stopped short of ratification.

The White House, Congress, and the Pentagon daily threaten a new Vietnam in El Salvador.

We need stronger, more aggressive unions, which act consistently on the principle that "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The women of District 31 have worked the hardest and been the leaders of efforts to fight for our rights—and to help build a stronger union to meet all these challenges.

We want to see Jim Balanoff re-elected. He's been a consistent, active backer of our struggles.

And no vote-catching promises from a born-again supporter of women's rights can hide that basic truth.

Performance speaks louder than public relations.

Wilson in race for District 8 director

By Yvonne Hayes

Steelworkers today are the target of the "right-wing corporate structure whose aim is to break the unions." That was David Wilson's message to over 400 union members March 5 at nominating meetings of United Steelworkers Local 2609. Wilson is president of the local, which represents over 6,000 workers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. He is running for director of USWA District 8, challenging the incumbent, Primo Padeletti.

Wilson's nomination carried the local by a five-to-one margin. More than ten other locals have also voted to nominate Wilson, assuring him a place on the ballot.

The membership of District 8—composed of basic steel locals as well as numerous can, steel fabricating, chemical and other workers—has dropped from 50,000 to 27,500 in recent years. Many of the small locals have already been direct targets of the corporate, anti-union drive. They have been forced into long, costly strikes such as one at Thompson Steel in Baltimore, now in its fifth month.

Wilson warned that if the interna-

tional does not respond to these attacks, larger locals such as 2609 and 2610 at Sparrows Point will be hit next. The job of the union movement is to "organize the unorganized and protect those we have already organized."

Wilson argues that with Reagan in the White House, labor can't afford to ignore social issues. He criticized the recent agreement between the steel companies, the USWA leadership, and some "environmental groups" to relax pollution control guidelines.

He attacked the recent Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) proposal relaxing the standards on radioactive scrap in the steelmaking process. The NRC claims this will result "only" in short-term, minimal increased dangers to workers' health. This is unacceptable, Wilson declared.

Local 2609, which Wilson heads, has marched for the Equal Rights Amendment in Washington, D.C., and Richmond, Va. With Wilson's support, women in the local established the first standing women's advisory committee in the international. The local came to the aid of striking coal miners in 1978, striking shipyard workers in Newport News, Va., in 1979, and steelworkers

on strike in small locals in District 8.

This district has been among the least active in basic membership activities. In contrast, Wilson said, "Our local has an education program. Our local has a retirees program. Our local has a health and safety program." Wilson has been particularly active as chairman of the Maryland Committee on Occupational Safety and Health (MaryCOSH).

Jack Casaparriello, who is also seeking the post of district director, spoke at the meeting as well.

Primo Padeletti, the current director, addressed a feeling among many workers that the district does not respond to their needs. He promised to institute regular educational on the grievance procedure for union officers and district conferences on wage and policy. But supporters voted down a similar proposal in Local 2610, his home local.

The District 8 election process is being conducted under the supervision of federal marshals. This stems from a lawsuit filed by Wilson after the last director's race when he was denied a place on the ballot. Wilson was also the target of a terrorist firebombing attack.

Marie Head has been a member of United Steelworkers Local 1014 since 1977. She is a trustee of the District 31 Women's Caucus and secretary of the Northwest Indiana Coalition of Labor Union Women.

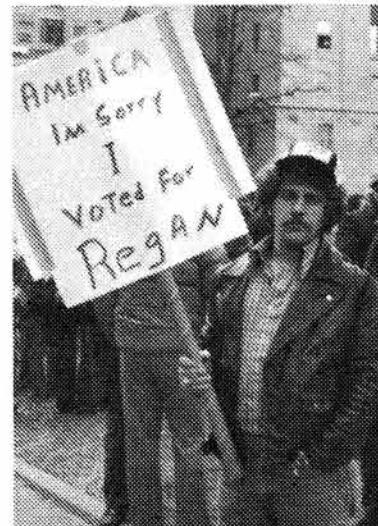
Gallup poll: thumbs down on Reagan

After eight weeks in office, Ronald Reagan was more unpopular than any newly elected president in twenty-eight years.

According to a Gallup Poll released in mid-March, 59 percent approved of Reagan's handling of the presidency. At similar points in their terms, Carter got 75 percent approval; Nixon, 65 percent; Kennedy, 73 percent; and Eisenhower, 67 percent.

Twenty-four percent in the new poll said they disapproved of Reagan, a jump from 13 percent at the end of January.

Nine percent disapproved of Carter and Nixon after their first eight weeks in office.



Militant/Suzanne Haig
Miner at March 9 D.C. protest of cuts in black lung fund.

Milwaukee protest saves hospitals

By Mindy Brudno

MILWAUKEE—Area residents here won a big victory recently when the Southeast Wisconsin Health Systems Agency decided to scrap plans for closing and consolidating several hospitals. A massive outpouring of opposition to the plans at several public hearings convinced the agency to table the proposals indefinitely.

The agency had argued that hospital closings and mergers would eliminate the "excess bed capacity" that drives up health care costs. However, as speaker after speaker pointed out at the hearings, there is no surplus of facilities in the impoverished communities where all the proposed cutbacks were to occur.

In addition to making health

care less accessible to residents of the central city—primarily the Black and Latino communities in Milwaukee—the closings would have hurt the quality and variety of health care services available in the area. Children's Hospital, for example, was to be closed, as well as Family Hospital, which has the only teen pregnancy clinic, and Foundation Hospital, which is the only one with a largely bilingual staff.

Average attendance at the several public hearings was 500 people, virtually all of whom opposed the cutbacks. The hundreds of health-care workers and community activists who jammed the meetings convinced the Health Systems Agency that a massive reorganization of the area's hospitals would not be as easy as they had originally thought.

Hooker workers end strike: 'We're not quitting on safety'

By Karen Newton

BURLINGTON, N.J.—Members of United Glass and Ceramic Workers Local 482 ended their twelve-day strike against Hooker Chemical Company March 6. The walkout was sparked when workers learned that nitric oxide, a highly toxic gas, had been brought into the plant without their knowledge.

Hooker has indefinitely suspended four of the workers, citing them for "false and malicious statements" against the company. Two of those suspended are union officials. The disputed issues, including the jobs of the suspended workers, will now go to arbitration.

At a public forum held March 9 at the Burlington Middle School, 150 Hooker workers, family members, and local residents gathered to hear presentations on the problem from

local government officials and representatives of environmental groups. Most Local 482 members who attended sported buttons that said: "We Demand Safe and Healthy Jobs. An Injury to One is an Injury to All."

Following the talks, the microphone was opened to the audience and Hooker employees spoke. They were angry about exposure to chemicals known to cause cancer and birth defects. They complained that dangerous chemicals are not properly labeled, safe work procedures aren't taught, and grievances are ignored after being filed.

One woman told of a machine explosion that almost killed her husband and her partner. The company had known the machine was in disrepair, but assured her husband it was not dangerous.

One worker said the fight is just beginning. "We're not quitting on the safety issue, we just had to go back to get the ball rolling and get OSHA to investigate."

He was referring to the refusal of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to investigate the union's complaints unless the workers went back to their jobs.

The union vice president expressed shock at being suspended from his job for telling the truth about Hooker. "The past two weeks I've felt as if I was in a foreign country," he said.

One resident from a nearby community said of the Hooker workers, "Without them, we wouldn't know what's going on. The government is supposed to protect us but it doesn't."

Who's killing Atlanta children? 'It's government! It's police!'

By Lionel Cuffie

SAN FRANCISCO—A militant, angry crowd gathered here March 15 at the Federal Building, despite heavy rain, to protest the slaying and disappearance of Black children in Atlanta.

Yvonne Golden, principal of Alamo Park High, spoke, drawing the connection between racist violence, the Reagan administration's cutbacks on welfare, and the increasing budget for missiles.

She noted the demonstration of thousands of miners against cuts in black lung benefits, calling it a positive response from the American people to increasing attacks.

Golden demanded that Atlanta be declared in a state of emergency. She pointed out that as soon as Coretta Scott

King called for a national demonstration for Atlanta, the Reagan administration sent funds to the city. "We want to keep



Militant/Howard Petrick
Yvonne Golden hit racist killings, hailed miners' protest.

the pressure on!" Golden said.

Rev. Amos Brown of the Bethel A.M.E. Church asked the crowd: "Who's killing the children of Atlanta?"

"It's the government! It's the government! It's the police!" the crowd responded.

As one speaker later commented, "They [Washington] have the nerve to send the FBI down to Atlanta when the FBI itself is nothing but a bunch of crooks and Klansmen."

It was announced that the Committee Against Racist Violence, a group formed in response to anti-Black attacks in nearby Contra Costa County, will be organizing a march on Good Friday, April 17. Planning meetings will be at 7 p.m. on Mondays at the Bethel A.M.E. Church, 916 Laguna Street, San Francisco.

Detroit hears truth about El Salvador

By Bill Arth

DETROIT—Two Salvadoran trade unionists made a big impact here during a March 6-9 tour.

Jorge Mendez and Jose Sanchez were introduced to the Detroit City Council by its president pro tempore Mary Anne Mahaffey, and spoke for twenty minutes about what is happening in their country. Their statement was covered by all major radio and television stations.

That night, March 6, they attended a meeting at Solidarity House at the invitation of United Auto Workers vice president Martin Gerber. The meeting was attended by staff members and a number of regional and district UAW representatives.

A March 7 meeting at Wayne State University was attended by 150 people.

On March 8 they spoke to eighty-five trade union officials

in a meeting sponsored by Cathy Callahan, a member of the executive board of the Metro Detroit AFL-CIO. The facts they presented—such as that only two strikes in El Salvador's history were ever considered legal, and that trade union activity today is almost outlawed—made a strong impression. Fifty people expressed interest in being part of future activities against U.S. intervention.

The Salvadorans concluded their tour with a March 9 presentation to 200 students at Cass Tech High School.

During a lively discussion, one student asserted the right of the U.S. government to intervene in other countries to protect U.S. corporations.

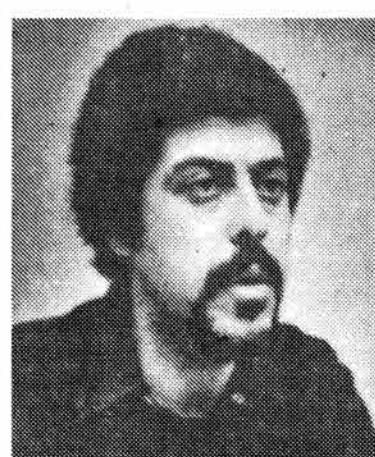
The speaker replied that countries have the right to protect themselves from real enemies, but not the right to meddle in the affairs of other countries. The audience broke into applause.

Student arrested at gunpoint; told to leave U.S. by June 18

By Bev Scott

PORTLAND—On Friday, February 13, the Immigration and Naturalization Service kicked down the back door to Bishara Costandi's apartment at 5:30 in the morning.

They arrested him at gunpoint, searched his apartment, and jailed him for violating his student visa by not taking a full load of university courses.



Bishara Costandi

Costandi is a thirty-year-old Palestinian student at Portland State University.

At a deportation hearing March 18 he was ordered to leave the country by June 18. Costandi will appeal his case to the U.S. Board of Immigration Appeals.

After his arrest, Costandi was not read his rights or allowed to call his lawyer for several hours. When his lawyer arrived he was first searched because, the INS explained, "this is not an ordinary case."

During the subsequent bail hearing, INS officials argued for a high bail for Costandi, saying that he was suspected of being involved in terrorist activities. When they produced no evidence to support this charge, bail was reduced from \$5000 to \$2000.

Costandi charges that he was singled out by the government for his political ideas and activity. He states that he has been very politically active at

Portland State University and is a strong supporter of the Palestinian revolution, but maintains that such ideas and activity are within his constitutional rights.

Costandi suspects that the INS became interested in him after he refused to talk to FBI agents on January 16. The FBI had tried to question him about his attitude toward the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

At a news conference attended by more than sixty of his supporters from PSU, Costandi said, "I have nothing to hide. I would have talked to the INS if they had been civil and rung my front doorbell, instead of breaking down my back door unannounced at that early hour."

"The government has acted this way to try to intimidate me, but it doesn't scare me. I won't be deterred from being politically active, as I have been in the past."

El Salvador meeting in N.Y. draws 1,500

By Nelson González

NEW YORK—About 1,500 registered participants turned out March 21 for a conference on El Salvador here sponsored by the New York Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples of El Salvador (CISPES).

"This conference was almost as big as the national march that CISPES organized on January 11 in Washington, D.C., in solidarity with El Salvador," said Ed Josephson, one of the central organizers.

The 1,500 people who attended the conference came to get the truth about El Salvador and they weren't disappointed.

Three series of workshops were organized covering a wide range of issues concerning El Salvador. There were workshops on U.S. foreign policy, human rights, agrarian reform, and other topics.

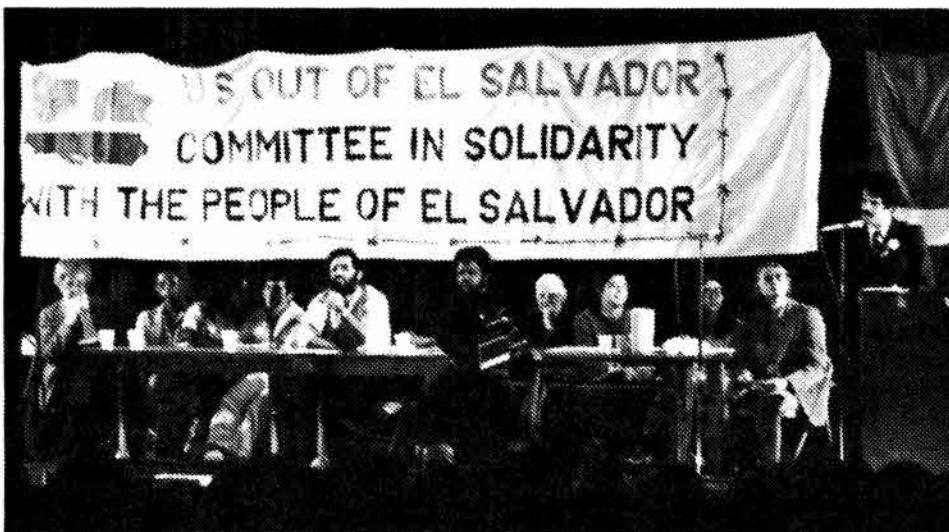
One series of workshops was specifically geared towards discussion of how to better organize solidarity work. These well-attended sessions took up

lieves in a popular government in El Salvador."

Valentin pointed out that "Reagan is taking funds away from the poor and giving them to the military, precisely for those acts of intervention."

He was followed by Larry Birns, who scored attempts by the Reagan Administration to deny parallels with Vietnam. "They speak in language which is nothing if not reminiscent of the series of denials of growing involvement which were heard during the early years of Vietnam," he said.

That evening 2,000 people attended an El Salvador solidarity rally at Washington Irving High School. They heard speeches from Arnaldo Ramos, representative of the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (Revolutionary Democratic Front—FDR); Kathy Andrade, educational director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 23-25, and secretary-treasurer, Hispanic Labor Council; Carlos Federico Paredes; Jerry Gordon, of the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and



Arnaldo Ramos, representative of FDR, addressing rally. He expressed confidence that El Salvador will win.

solidarity work with respect to the campuses, minorities, labor, high schools, and other areas.

Larry Birns, from the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Dr. George Wald, Nobel laureate from Harvard University, and Michael Mitchell, an attaché of the Grenadian Mission to the United Nations, were among those who participated as panelists and led the various workshops.

Two news conferences were held. Participants included Carlos Federico Paredes, who recently resigned from the Salvadoran military junta; Tulio Mendoza, a Salvadoran refugee seeking political asylum in the United States; Michael Harrington, national chairperson of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Gilberto Gerena Valentin, New York city council member; and George Wald.

Paredes declared: "It is indisputable that the junta of the Christian Democratic government could not maintain itself in power if it were not for the economic, political, and military support of the United States . . . it is definitely serving to block the aspirations of an entire population that be-

Full Employment; Heidi Tarver from CISPES; and others.

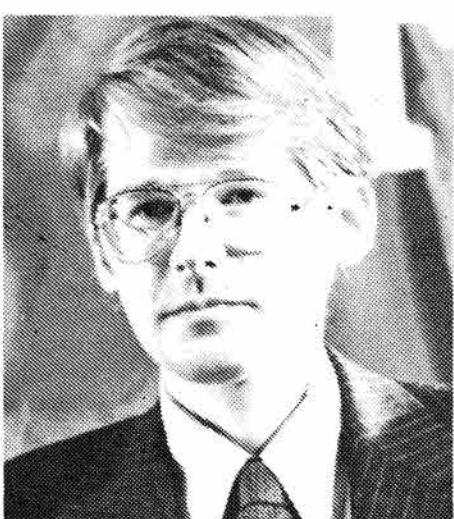
Jerry Gordon sparked enthusiastic applause when he invited all to the March 28 Harrisburg demonstration against nuclear power and in solidarity with the United Mine Workers.

He characterized the March 28 action as labor's first unified response to the Reagan budget offensive.

He pointed out the potential to reach out to the labor movement on other issues, citing the International Association of Machinists' endorsement of the May 9 antidraft demonstration in Washington, D.C. "We should bend over backwards to involve the labor movement," he said, referring to the potential that May 9 had to involve still wider sectors of labor.

Other speakers at the rally highlighted upcoming CISPES national days of action on March 24 in commemoration of Archbishop Romero's death, and on April 18, the anniversary of the FDR's founding.

If the New York CISPES conference is any indication, a lot more Americans will be coming out on those days to learn the truth about El Salvador.



Michael Donovan, brother of slain missionary, blasts aid to junta.



Michael Mitchell, attaché of Grenada Mission, expresses solidarity.

Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean



Haitian women support Salvadoran struggle

On March 8, International Women's Day, a group of Haitian women in Brooklyn, New York, organized a rally in solidarity with their sisters fighting in El Salvador. More than 500 people—mostly Haitians—attended, according to *Militant* correspondent Robert Dees.

The evening included speakers from the Haitian Women's Group and the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), a Haitian cultural program, and the film "Revolution or Death."

"Solidarity with the women of El Salvador is a part of the struggle to liberate Haiti," declared the rally chairperson.

The FDR spokesperson said, "The fight of the Salvadoran people is the fight of the entire world . . . the revolutionary forces have the honor of having a woman as the second in command."

"More than thirty percent of the military leaders of the popular forces are women," added a Salvadoran woman.

She continued: "It is the peasant women who have organized the military defense" of thousands of peasants driven off the land by government forces. "When the struggle has triumphed, we shall see the key role of women in building a new society."

Eighty percent say no to Salvador aid

"Should the United States be furnishing military aid, and now advisors, to the Central American nation of El Salvador?"

This was the question posed by the *Cleveland Press* in an informal poll of its readers. On March 11, the results of that poll were published.

Out of 959 readers responding, 771 or 80.4 percent answered with "a resounding no."

"It will be another Vietnam if it continues. . . . It looks like we haven't learned our lesson yet," said Carol Ponkar.

"We have nothing to gain in El Salvador," said Dave Long, a Vietnam veteran. "It seems to me like another Vietnam."

"The only ones who will gain in this are the munitions suppliers and their stockholders," said Julius Ozebak.

Salvador solidarity rally in Israel

On March 2 in Tel Aviv, the first rally in Israel in solidarity with the Salvadoran struggle took place. The themes of the rally were "Solidarity with the people of El Salvador" and "Stop all Israeli arms exports to the junta in El Salvador."

Between 90 to 100 Jews and Palestinians packed the meeting place. Speakers included Michael Schwartz of the Revolutionary Communist League of Israel; Stephen Zunk, a representative of the El Salvador Task Force; Professor Israel Shahak, chairman of the Human and Civil Rights League in Israel, and others.

A pamphlet, "El Salvador: People in Struggle," has been issued in Israel. It documents the Israeli rulers' connection to the right-wing regimes.

Celebrities support El Salvador struggle

As in the days of the anti-Vietnam War movement, celebrities are now speaking out against the interventionist policy of the Reagan administration in El Salvador.

Among those opposed to U.S. intervention are Dr. Benjamin Spock, Kurt Vonnegut, Erica Jong, Carl Sagan, Allen Ginsberg, Kris Kristofferson, Harry Belafonte, Coretta Scott King, and many others.

Ed Asner, TV's "Lou Grant," signed an advertisement against U.S. intervention "because he felt Americans should learn more about El Salvador before the United States becomes too deeply involved in supporting a wealthy elite against the demands of the poor," said the Associated Press.

In a letter to the *Los Angeles Times*, Carroll O'Connor, who plays "Archie Bunker," compared the ruling junta with organized crime in America.

"Somebody ought to give a damn . . . about the helpless little people who are being killed down there—whose streets and homes and churches are being shot up daily by the top mob, the so-called government," he said.

—Nelson González

...Calif.

Continued from back page

and the programs to improve minority schools (including bilingual education), may well disappear.

Teachers fight board's action

The United Teachers of Los Angeles went into court to block the immediate dismantling of the program. UTLA lawyers argued that transferring so many students at midsemester would disrupt classes and jeopardize bilingual instruction for those who need it.

The court ruled against the union.

School officials themselves now say a sudden end to the plan will cause

"absolute chaos." Twenty-two Black and Latino schools will become overcrowded, forcing shortened days and other relief measures.

But the racist school board does not care about the impact on students.

"This means no more busing, thank god," said board president Roberta Weintraub.

In a speech to a largely Black audience shortly after the high court decision, Judge Egly blasted the board for ignoring the needs of minority children.

"The minority children in this district are shortchanged," the judge declared. "The manner in which Hispanic children are treated . . . comes close to being inhumane."

By Lars Palmgren

SAN SALVADOR—Antilio Vieytes, a nervous, young, U.S.-educated man with the impressive title of minister of planning and coordination of economic and social development, is explaining to me the Salvadoran government's 1980-83 Emergency Plan.

"For the plan to succeed," Vieytes says, "the private sector must begin to invest again. For that to happen there has to be political stability. But don't ask me how we will achieve that. I'm just responsible for drawing up the plans."

On the wall in the minister's office is a big poster entitled "Twenty Year Plan for the Economic and Social Development of El Salvador." On the right side of the poster a whole series of arrows comes together under the heading, "El Salvador in the Year 2000—Industrially Developed, With Social Equality."

When asked if this Twenty Year Plan might be a bit optimistic, Antilio Vieytes only shrugs.

But President José Napoleón Duarte, chief of the military/Christian Democratic junta, describes the Twenty Year Plan in an interview as the central aspect, the "culmination," as he puts it, of the Christian Democrats' political program.

Duarte's tone is confident and optimistic. He claims that El Salvador is on its way to political stability. "The military," he says, "now is in full control of the entire country. All that is left is some clean-up operations to bring the whole country back to normal."

Is junta gaining support?

The head of the junta tries to prove his point by saying that "for the past year the streets of this city have almost always been empty. But now the streets are full of people shopping."

Duarte neglects to mention that due to the curfew everyone has to do their shopping during the same few hours.

But Duarte's claim has been picked up by the international press. Is it true, as Duarte claims, that the political situation is beginning to stabilize? Is it true as some people say—including acting Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas—that the junta has been gaining support and the guerrillas losing since the beginning of the guerrilla offensive on January 10? Was the offensive a big military defeat for the revolutionary forces?

Those points are constantly repeated in all the mass media in El Salvador. All the newspapers, radio, and television are under government control. The government has even forbidden privately owned radio stations from broadcasting the popular features in which listeners can send each other messages.

The prohibition was not just because the messages could contain coded secrets for the revolutionaries. It was also due to the fact that people might learn of the real situation in the country.

We should not underestimate the intensive propaganda's effects on the population, especially since the possibilities for countering it are limited. The opposition's clandestine radio stations—Radio Venceremos and Radio Liberación—are difficult to tune in.

Circulating leaflets puts one's life in danger and is only carried out as part

On-the-scene report

Salvador guerrillas hold regime at bay

of a larger action or on a one-to-one basis. The circulation of the revolutionary press is too small to effectively counter government propaganda.

There has also been a certain amount of fatigue among the population. After two years of intense repression there were hopes that the offensive would bring a quick end to the war. People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) Commander Alejandro Montenegro told me that some segments of the population, especially the petty bourgeoisie, may have been frustrated that the January 10 offensive did not achieve a quick solution and are therefore more prone to accept the government propaganda.

Continuing repression

But considering the government's monopoly over the news media, it is surprising to see how few people actually believe the government line. It is far more common to meet people who state that the government is lying, who say they listen to Radio Havana, Radio Moscow, the Voice of Nicaragua, the BBC, or even the Voice of America. "At least then we get somewhere in the neighborhood of the truth," an office worker for the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation (ISTA) told me.

The reality is that the repression is continuing. According to figures compiled by the Archbispocric's Legal Aid office, in January 2,644 people were murdered by the security forces. Those figures include only civilians and don't count government or revolutionary forces killed in battle.

The February figures are only a little better. The Legal Aid figures also show that from January 10 to the end of February, some 300 people have been killed during the curfew.

Legal Aid activists state that in the recent period the repression has become more generalized and more violent than before. Most of the victims in January and February were not directly involved in political activity, but were simply people in the wrong place at the wrong time.

One of the Legal Aid staff tells of a group of seven young teenagers who were on their way home from downtown San Salvador. About twenty minutes before the curfew was to begin, they were picked up by the army. The army decided that since they would not be able to make it to their homes by the time the curfew began, "we might as well get you now," in the words of one soldier. Only one of the seven youths survived.

Many people are being held in prison without charges. This is legal under the provisions of Decree 507, which gives the police power to hold anyone



A teenage guerrilla

for up to six months for "investigation." They can be held without any charges, and the prisoner does not have the right to see a lawyer, a judge, or inform anyone of his or her whereabouts.

200,000 refugees

Another result of the repression is the rise in the number of refugees. In San Salvador alone there are about 5,000—mostly women, children, and the elderly—in camps protected by the Catholic Church. These are all refugees from rural terror campaigns waged by the army and ORDEN, a rural paramilitary terror organization.

There are an estimated 100,000 refugees throughout the country, and another 100,000 who have fled the country for Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Mexico.

There is a second category of refugees who get more support from the government and the Red Cross. These are the 25,000 to 50,000 junta supporters, mostly members of ORDEN and their families, who have fled areas where the revolutionary forces are active.

The scope of the repression hardly suggests that the situation is being stabilized, as Duarte claims. Nor has it restored the confidence of the private sector to the point where it would be willing to increase its investments, as Planning Minister Vieytes hopes.

Economic catastrophe

The flight of capital from El Salvador has reached such proportions that by the end of 1980 the country's private fixed capital was 47.6 percent

lower than it had been in 1978 (the year the emergency plan hopes to match). Industry is operating at about 50 percent of capacity, and is continuing to decline.

Unemployment is rising. According to government figures, some 20,000 workers lost their jobs as a result of factory closings last year. A drastic example is the free trade zone of San Salvador, which was opened as part of the Central American Common Market. At one time there were 4,500 workers in the zone. Today there are no more than 1,000.

Another expression of the economic crisis is the drop in consumption. While the population has increased 3.5 percent since 1978, consumption has declined by 3.2 percent.

The junta's emergency economic plan is trying to minimize the catastrophic effects of the crisis. More than half the money that had originally been earmarked for long-term projects has now been shifted to short-term projects such as road repairs in order to provide jobs. But the number of new jobs this creates does not compensate for the decline in employment in the economy as a whole.

The growing public investments have been financed by foreign loans and credits. As a result the country's foreign debt has soared. At the same time, there is no private investment. In fact there is the opposite, private de-capitalization.

The unfavorable investment climate is made worse, in the eyes of the capitalists, by the phony reforms the government has undertaken: the land

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reform and the nationalization of banks and of foreign trade.

Junta's land program

Under the first stage of the land reform, all holdings of more than 500 hectares are supposed to be given to the farm workers, who are supposed to form cooperatives. The state pays off the landlord, and the cooperatives are to repay the state over a fifteen-year period. Until then the land will belong to ISTA.

The objective of the land reform program was, in the words of junta member José Antonio Morales Ehrlich, "to steal the thunder from the revolutionaries." But now the junta has used its trump card without achieving its objective, without being able to change the relationship of forces to its advantage.

The reform was carried out by the armed forces. The army moved into an area, occupied the land, controlled the election of officers of the new cooperatives, and murdered workers known to be sympathetic to the left organizations.

The relationship between the land reform and the repression was so strong from the start that rather than giving rise to hopes that it would solve the problems of the peasants, the program created skepticism, suspicion, and fear.

In the period since the reform was announced, and especially since the recent offensive, the original inhabitants of many of the haciendas have been forced to leave, have fled under fear of the repression, or have been killed. At the same time, members of ORDEN and supporters of the junta have been moved onto the land.

Increasingly the officers of the cooperatives are drawn from the ORDEN members on the estate or from the administrators under the former owners.

In addition, because of the deteriorating economic situation and the speed with which the land reform was announced, few resources were provided for support of the new "cooperatives." The only credits available are for harvesting. As a result, many cooperatives have had to sell their machinery or livestock to raise funds.

No help from capitalists

The other two major reforms, the nationalization of banking and foreign trade, have had little positive results for the workers and peasants.

In addition, the active support of the private sector, which the junta is counting on to solve the economic crisis, has not been forthcoming. In fact, since the January 10 offensive, the bourgeoisie's opposition to even the most timid reforms has increased.

During February a number of bourgeois interest groups placed advertisements or published statements in the San Salvador daily papers. On February 9, the association of those whose land had been taken placed a big and threatening ad protesting the land reform and complaining that they had not yet been compensated. The group

maintained that the land reform would have no legal status until confirmed by a constituent assembly.

Three days later, on February 12, the coffee growers protested taxes on coffee production. The coffee growers, whose lands were hardly affected by the land reform since most of their holdings are under 500 hectares, are one of the most influential economic groups in the country. They have threatened to halt production if the junta does not change the tax law.

On February 19 the cattle owners placed a full page ad in newspapers claiming that meat production in the country was headed for ruin due to the land reform and calling for the reversal of the program.

The same day, the National Conciliation Party (PCN), the main bourgeois political formation, published a long statement accusing the junta of driving the country to the brink of ruin through its policies. "Even the extreme left is clearer than the junta," the PCN statement maintained, "because at least they say what kind of society they want to create." The PCN concluded that "it's time now for a change."

Soon after, José Napoleón Duarte announced that the second phase of the land reform would be suspended for five to ten years.

Low morale among troops

The strike called in conjunction with the January 10 offensive showed that the junta does not even have a firm base of support among government employees. In the capital, the strike was most effective in the government ministries themselves. And the repression since January 10 has struck very heavily against government employees, with continual searches for "subversive propaganda" and controls over movement.

Despite all Duarte's claims about winning a "total military victory" and achieving "total control" over the country, the January 10 offensive did not improve the morale of government troops.

In fact, the government's strident propaganda about its smashing victory has had a demoralizing effect on many soldiers who participated in the confrontations with the revolutionary groups. These soldiers know that the guerrillas are not the "small desperate bands" that the official propaganda makes them out to be.

The troops know that the official reports of low army casualty rates and high losses among the guerrillas are untrue. They know that the army's attempts to drive the guerrillas from the semiliberalized zones have been unsuccessful.

The troops also know that there is no truth to the junta's claims that a stream of revolutionaries are accepting the government's amnesty offer. They are aware of the high morale among the revolutionaries, and of the guerrillas' base among the population.

Many of the government troops are young boys, some only fourteen or fifteen years old. Their morale is very

Cuba: CIA behind embassy attack

Cuba has accused the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, working through a Portuguese diplomat, of organizing the February 13 terrorist assault on the Ecuadorian embassy in Havana.

A March 17 report by Cuba's acting minister of foreign relations, Ricardo Alarcón, asserted that Portugal's chargé d'affaires in Havana, Francisco de Sales Mascarenhas, acted as the CIA's intermediary and "organized, provoked, and took part" in the armed occupation of the Ecuadorian embassy.

Alarcón reported that de Sales Mascarenhas has been confronted with evidence of his participation in a meeting of diplomats accredited in Havana. Although Cuba cannot provide de Sales Mascarenhas with the opportunity to prove his innocence in a trial, since he enjoys diplomatic immunity, it invited him to confront his accusers—the individuals who took part in the embassy seizure—in a public forum.

The Portuguese government responded by expelling the Cuban ambassador to Portugal, Manuel Estévez Pérez.

Nonetheless, Cuba went ahead and presented its evidence against de Sales Mascarenhas on March 19 in a televised press conference for three leaders of the occupation. The three confirmed the role of the Portuguese diplomat and explained that the weapons used in the takeover had been hidden in the residence of de Sales Mascarenhas, only yards from the building housing the Ecuadorian embassy. They also stated that the Portuguese chargé d'affaires had tried to get them to carry out an attempt on Fidel Castro's life.

The Ecuadorian government has been using the events of the embassy occupation to create an incident in relations with Cuba, accusing the Cuban government of violating diplomatic norms.

But Ecuadorian diplomats on the scene gave authorization to the Cuban authorities to reoccupy the embassy.

In addition, Ecuador had refused to grant political asylum to the invaders, recognizing that they were common criminals who should be tried in Cuban courts.

directly dependent on their superior officers.

This was shown by the events in Santa Ana on January 10. When Captain Sandoval called on his troops to revolt against the junta, 200 soldiers, most with no direct political contact with the revolutionary groups, followed him. The rest of the garrison simply melted away, fleeing to their homes, leaving the country, or going into hiding.

Since the offensive, desertions have continued. The army and National Guard have had to carry out a new wave of conscription. Many of the new troops come from the most marginal, petty-criminal elements of the population or from the ranks of ORDEN.

The revolutionaries predict that while these new recruits may be even more brutal than those they replaced, they will also be a very unstable and indisciplined element within the armed forces.

Divisions within military

After the January 10 offensive, a formal agreement was reached between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Democratic Military Youth (JMD). The JMD, which included Sandoval and former junta member Col. Adolfo Majano among its members, is a heterogeneous movement of young officers, bound together by personal loyalty. When Majano was recently arrested by the junta, pressure from the JMD prevented the government from bringing him up on charges of treason and support for subversives. Majano's fate is still not decided.

According to sources in the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the FMLN, the situation inside the armed forces is very tense. They maintain that there is also great tension within the junta, between Duarte and Col. Jaime Abdúl Gutiérrez and Defense Minister José Guillermo García.

The return from abroad of the notorious ultrarightist Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson is expected to exacerbate these tensions. D'Aubuisson, whose connections with the death squads are common knowledge, has been calling for the military to seize full control of the government.

All these factors indicate that there is no substance to Duarte's claim that the situation in the country has become more stable since the offensive.

In fact, what the offensive mainly showed is that the Salvadoran junta is totally dependent on U.S. imperialism and its allies for its survival. Defense Minister García has even admitted that the army could not have held out during the offensive had it not been for

the renewal of U.S. military aid.

The only way the junta can establish what it calls "political stability" is by deepening its reign of terror and furthering the militarization of the country; for this, it will require greater and greater intervention by Washington.

Results of FMLN offensive

The revolutionary forces have learned a great deal from their January offensive. It was the first general military offensive they had ever launched, and the first big actions carried out under the united framework of the FMLN.

The offensive highlighted both the strengths and weaknesses of the guerrilla forces. It showed that the FMLN's military capability is considerable, that it can carry out large-scale offensive and defensive troop movements, as well as traditional small-unit guerrilla operations.

The offensive's biggest weakness was the fact that with the exception of Santa Ana where the offensive took the character of an insurrectionary struggle, the offensive as a whole was almost exclusively restricted to military operations.

There were several reasons why the call for a general strike did not get a massive response. There were problems in coordination and an underestimation of the strength of the enemy's repressive apparatus.

In addition, the planning of the offensive was not carried out in close collaboration with the mass organizations. But these problems are now being corrected during this period of preparation for the next offensive.

The revolutionary forces carried out their tactical retreat at the end of the offensive with their forces intact, although very low on ammunition. But representatives of the FMLN state that they have been able to keep supply lines of ammunition and weapons open since the retreat.

As a result, it may be possible in the future to arm civilians to a greater extent than was the case during the January offensive.

The offensive also showed that the unity of the revolutionary forces in the FMLN is now a reality, even though some differences among the groups remain. Some forces within the FMLN favor a prolonged people's war, while others feel the war must be of short duration, in which the insurrectional aspect must play a central role.

This discussion, as well as the discussion regarding the formation of a unified party, has now been postponed in favor of working out coordinated plans for a new offensive.

From *Intercontinental Press*



Rebellious students have compelled heavy junta military presence at San Salvador university.

By Will Reissner

On March 5, the Reagan administration presented the U.S. Congress with proposals that would increase arms spending by \$33.8 billion in 1981 and 1982. To present those proposals in the best possible light, at a time when social spending is being drastically slashed, Reagan claims that this spending surge is needed to stand up to Soviet "expansionism."

In fact, in a March 3 televised interview, Reagan went so far as to state that "it is rather foolish to have unilaterally disarmed, you might say, as we did, by letting our defense margin of safety deteriorate."

Far from "unilaterally disarming," in recent years U.S. military planners have instituted programs intended to provide the Pentagon with the means to launch a crippling nuclear "first strike" attack against the Soviet Union.

These measures were codified in Presidential Directive No. 59, signed by Jimmy Carter on July 25, 1980, and leaked to the U.S. press in August of that year.

to be a more "humane" strategy because it spares civilian targets, in fact its effect is just the opposite. A "counter-forces" strategy makes nuclear annihilation *more* rather than less likely.

Underlying MAD's "counter-cities" emphasis was the fact that the primitive guidance systems of early missiles made it impossible to use them against small military targets. They could only be used against cities, where pinpoint accuracy was not needed.

Technological basis

During the years that Reagan claims the U.S. was becoming "unilaterally disarmed," the Pentagon was actually perfecting a new generation of nuclear weapons capable of knocking out Soviet missile sites and command bunkers. The Trident I submarine-launched missiles and Mk 12A warhead for the Minuteman III can now do this.

To fully implement the "counter-forces" strategy, however, the Pentagon needed the four new weapons systems mentioned earlier.

The MX missile, the Trident II mis-

Armed with multiple warheads that can be targeted to hit different sites, the MX missile is far more accurate than any previous missile system. With 10 warheads on each missile, and a range of over 6,000 miles, each MX warhead would land within 100 yards of its intended target, and would destroy everything within two-and-a-half miles of its impact area. This accuracy and destructive power mean that it could destroy the most heavily reinforced concrete missile silo.

The MX would be deployed over huge areas of the states of Nevada and Utah. It would consist of a giant network of underground railways, with 200 to 275 MX missiles constantly shuttling between 4,600 firing silos. A gigantic version of the old "shell game," the MX would be invulnerable to attack because more than 4,600 nuclear warheads would be needed to definitively destroy it.

Trident, Cruise, and Pershing

The second new weapon required for implementing P.D. 59 is the submarine-launched Trident II missile. Em-

minutes it would take a missile launched from the U.S. to reach the Soviet Union. This obviously increases the Pentagon's ability to launch a surprise attack against the USSR.

New blow to SALT

By agreeing to the placement of a total of 572 Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe—the first European-based missiles that can hit the Soviet Union—the Pentagon's European allies are helping Washington implement its first strike strategy against the Soviet Union.

It should be noted that although these weapons will be on European soil, they will remain under the sole command of the U.S. military, to be used when the U.S. government decides.

In addition to the MX, Trident II, Cruise, and Pershing II systems, the Pentagon is also hard at work on other weapons to improve U.S. first-strike capability. Plans for the Stealth bomber, for example, were revealed by Carter during his unsuccessful reelection campaign.

More guns, less butter

Pentagon pushes ahead with nuclear first strike plans

P.D. 59 instructs the Pentagon to develop plans and strategies for fighting and winning prolonged but "limited" nuclear wars. The underlying thesis of P.D. 59 is that the Pentagon would fight such a war by launching a first strike nuclear attack against the Soviet Union, crippling the USSR's ability to retaliate.

U.S. first strike capability

But P.D. 59 is not simply words. It is based on the development of four new weapons systems that make a first strike possible. Those systems are the MX missile, the Trident II submarine-launched missile, the Cruise missile, and the Pershing II missile.

The development in 1957 of the Soviet Union's first Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) gave that country a delivery system that could reach the United States. (U.S. bombers had been able to reach the Soviet Union since 1945.) Now, the two countries in effect held each other's cities hostage against a first strike. Any use of nuclear weapons would therefore lead to mutual annihilation.

This situation came to be known by the acronym MAD—"mutually assured destruction."

But with the development of the MX, the Trident II, the Cruise, and the Pershing II, the Pentagon feels that it can eliminate the Soviet retaliatory threat in a crippling "first strike."

In line with this, P.D. 59 instructed the Pentagon to change the targets of U.S. nuclear weapons from Soviet cities to Soviet military targets. This is known as moving from a "counter-cities" to a "counter-forces" strategy.

Although at first glance P.D. 59's "counter-forces" targeting might seem

to be a new and extremely accurate guidance system, and with a range of up to 7,500 miles, the Trident II missile can destroy small military targets.

The Pentagon plans to deploy thirteen *Ohio* class nuclear submarines, each containing 24 Trident missile tubes. The program's cost is currently projected at more than \$30 billion for the U.S. Navy, with the British Navy also planning to spend up to \$14 billion for four or five new Trident submarines.

The third new weapons system, the Cruise missile, can be launched from airplanes, submarines, surface vessels, or the ground. The Cruise is particularly well suited for a nuclear first strike because it is so small and flies so low that it cannot be detected by radar.

The Cruise is also extremely cheap, as missile systems go. At a cost of \$750,000 each—less than the price of a modern battle tank—current U.S. plans call for the production of 4,000 to 5,000 of these tiny but deadly nuclear missiles.

On December 12, 1979, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) voted to deploy 464 of the Tomahawk version of the Cruise missile in Western Europe in 1983. With a range of over 2,000 miles, the Tomahawk Cruise could hit major cities in the Soviet Union from West European launching sites.

The fourth new system, the Pershing II missile, is also scheduled for deployment in Western Europe. A highly accurate missile, carrying a cluster of individually targeted warheads, 108 Pershing II missiles are to be based in West Germany. From there they could hit Soviet targets in as little as four minutes, compared to the 30 or more

ploying a new and extremely accurate

The Stealth bomber is being designed to be invisible to Soviet radar. Once it sneaks through Soviet air defense systems, it could either drop bombs on its intended targets or launch Cruise missiles from a considerable distance away.

Antimissile systems

P.D. 59's emphasis on fighting nuclear wars has also led the Pentagon to revive plans for antiballistic missiles (ABMs), which are missiles that shoot other missiles out of the air.

A 1972 treaty with the Soviet Union limits each country to a total of 200 ABMs, divided between two sites.

But Richard Burt noted in the August 14 *New York Times*, that new technology and the change in U.S. nuclear strategy "have revived interest in antiballistic missiles and raised questions about how long the United States will be willing to adhere to the 1972 antimissile treaty with the Soviet Union." That treaty is up for renewal in 1982.

According to Burt's sources in the Department of Defense and private industry, the Pentagon has already made major improvements in ABM technology and is presently working on a nuclear-armed ABM to protect MX launching sites. Since the mid-1970s the Pentagon has been spending about \$250 million per year on ABM research.

The 1972 treaty limiting ABMs was consistent with the MAD strategy of nuclear warfare, but not with P.D. 59.

Since P.D. 59 emphasizes *fighting and winning* a nuclear war, and contains an underlying first strike strategy, ABMs become an important defense against retaliation to a first

* At the time, Richard Burt was the *New York Times* national security correspondent. Since then he has been named director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs. The close ties between the *Times* and the military and political establishment in the United States can be seen from the fact that the man Burt replaced as director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs was Leslie Gelb, who in turn took Burt's job at the *Times*.

In fact, Gelb began his career at the State Department, then left the State Department for the *New York Times*, then left the *Times* in 1977 to become head of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, and then again left the State Department in 1981 to return to the *Times*.



strike. If some Soviet missiles were to escape destruction in a first strike, they could still be shot out of the air by U.S. ABMs.

Neutron bomb

The development of the neutron bomb is also part of the new U.S. "counter-forces" strategy. The neutron bomb is known as the ultimate capitalist weapon because it kills the maximum number of people while destroying the minimum amount of property. It does this by spewing out huge amounts of short-lived radiation, with relatively little blast or heat.

In line with P.D. 59, the neutron bomb is being touted for use in a limited war in Europe.

But in addition to its possible use in Europe, the neutron bomb has another and more likely mission. By spewing out huge amounts of short-term radiation over a large area, the neutron bomb would be an ideal weapon for Washington to use against liberation forces in some future Vietnam.

It is easy to imagine how the neutron bomb could have been used against National Liberation Front camps in Vietnam. Even if the U.S. military did not know the precise location of the guerrilla camps, a couple of neutron bomb artillery shells dropped into the general area would kill every guerrilla around, not to mention their supporters among the local population.

In April 1978, following protests against the deployment of the neutron bomb, Carter was forced to cancel plans to place the weapons in Europe. But the Pentagon is still producing the neutron bomb, and Reagan's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger recently renewed the call for placing them in Europe.

In Weinberger's own words, the neutron bomb "is a valuable addition to our forces, which we shall probably want to use."

'Limited' nuclear war

In September 1979, Henry Kissinger warned that under the MAD doctrine the U.S. government would be unlikely to use nuclear weapons in a European conflict and risk retaliatory destruction of American cities.

The alternative he proposed, and the one Carter pushed through and NATO approved, was to place the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Then, in the event of war in Europe, Washington would have the option of fighting a "limited" nuclear war by launching its "European" missiles against the Soviet Union.

And presumably the Soviet Union would respond in a "limited" way by destroying Europe while refraining from launching missiles against the United States. In turn, the Pentagon would not send its American-based missiles against the Soviet Union.

That may sound like an insane scenario, but that is exactly how the question is being discussed within

Reactor needed for new warheads

In order to provide the nuclear materials needed for the new generation of weapons to be produced by the Pentagon, a \$3 billion production reactor will have to be built, according to a study by an inter-agency committee of the U.S. government.

The new reactor would be the first built for the weapons program in more than a quarter-century.

The committee, which was established by the Departments of Defense and Energy in late 1979, also recommended an expenditure of \$500 million to upgrade existing production facilities.

At present the U.S. has three reactors at Savannah River, South Carolina, producing weapons-grade plutonium and tritium for what the *Washington Post* described on May 5, 1980, as "the biggest weapons-building program the country has undertaken in 20 years."

NATO planning groups and at the Pentagon.

A representative of the Soviet press agency Tass, Anatoly Krasikov, responded to the announcement of P.D. 59 by warning on August 8, 1980, that the USSR did not plan to play the game according to that scenario. Krasikov stated that as the U.S. develops new generations of weapons to implement P.D. 59, "it would be naïve to think that the Soviet Union would be idle."

He added that "certain persons on the other side of the ocean have not yet given up the idea of a 'first strike,' believing that they can escape retribution. The same calculation was made by Hitler, and everyone knows how his venture ended. An even sorrier fate will befall those who dare to be the first to push the button in our nuclear era."

Past experience

P.D. 59, and the new weapons systems needed to implement it, are the latest in a long string of Pentagon escalations of arms systems aimed at achieving and maintaining a first strike capability. But over time, every U.S. escalation of weaponry has been matched by the Soviet Union.



If Reagan and the Pentagon succeed in deploying the MX, the Trident II, the Cruise, the Pershing II, and the neutron bomb, and succeed in building the Stealth bomber and an ABM system, the record clearly shows that the Soviet Union will respond by building similar systems to defend itself.

Once that happens there will be a temporary return to the MAD doctrine, until the Pentagon is able to build a whole new generation of weapons to reestablish its first strike capability for a short time.

Workers will be heard

But Reagan's ability to deploy these new weapons systems is not at all assured. There is massive opposition in Europe to the introduction of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles and the neutron bomb. European workers are not impressed by the Pentagon's desire to fight "limited" nuclear wars that would turn Western Europe into a radioactive graveyard.

Neither are American workers particularly enthusiastic about spending billions of dollars on the MX missile system while facing cuts in real wages and social welfare programs.

Plans for the MX system have run into a storm of protest, in Utah and Nevada in particular. Many residents of those states recall how the U.S. government lied to them about the safety of above-ground nuclear tests there in the 1950s. These are now resulting in an epidemic of cancer deaths.

Confidence in the government has not been restored by Pentagon officials who describe Utah and Nevada as "giant sponges" for soaking up Soviet missiles.

The U.S. rulers will find that the technical problems of designing their first-strike system will be far smaller than their political problems in actually setting it up.

From Intercontinental Press

W. German workers hit war drive, austerity

By Russell Morse

The combined austerity and militarization drive of the imperialist ruling classes is suffering setbacks on several fronts in West Germany.

Metalworkers in that country are taking the lead in fighting an attempt by the employers to impose the first drop in workers' real wages there since the end of World War II. The bosses are trying to hold wage increases to 3 percent, but inflation is running at 5.5 percent.

In early March the 640,000-member West German metalworkers union IG Metall launched a series of militant one-day strikes and demonstrations to demand an 8 percent wage hike. Some 110,000 workers in 260 plants downed tools on March 5. The next day, 120,000 Volkswagen workers went on strike, while at the Mercedes-Benz plant in Sindelfingen 12,000 stopped work and held a rally. Then on March 11, more strikes involving some 80,000 workers took place at Daimler-Benz, Siemens, and other factories.

The rotating strikes and demonstrations form part of the campaign that IG Metall leaders call "New Mobility."

"New Mobility means a mobilization and politicalization of those affected, the workers and their families whose social fortunes are at risk," said Hans Janssen, IG Metall's chief negotiator.

The employers broke off negotiations on March 11 after a group of IG Metall members dressed in mourning clothes showed up at the talks and presented the chief management negotiator with a burial urn. "We are symbolically burying social peace," the workers told the bosses' representative.

While the attempt to impose austerity was running up against the resistance of the metalworkers, the imperialist war drive was also hitting obstacles.

On March 7, the West German Defense Ministry announced that instead of boosting arms spending by the 3 percent called for by Washington, it would reduce planned spending by

\$615 million during the next four years. The proportion of the state budget devoted to the military is to drop from 18 percent to 16 percent. Projects to develop new tactical missiles, tanks, helicopters, fighter jets, and naval craft are being scrapped or cut back.

In reducing the military budget against Washington's wishes, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's coalition government was responding to the pressure of left-wing forces in Schmidt's Social Democratic Party. SPD parliamentary deputies had demanded cuts of \$500 million in the 1981 military budget, while Schmidt was trying to boost arms spending by 1.75 percent.

The announcement of the cuts came on the eve of Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher's March 9 visit to Washington. And Genscher had still more bad news to deliver to Reagan.

On March 8 the national convention of the youth organization of Genscher's own Free Democratic Party (FDP)—the Young Democrats—called on the government to abandon the decision of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to station hundreds of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The youth group set plans to press for adoption of a similar position by the FDP itself at the party's May congress.

The Young Democrats thus joined the SPD's Young Socialists in opposing the missile plan. A growing section of the SPD's parliamentary delegation likewise opposes the NATO decision.

The Young Democrats and the Young Socialists also backed the 100,000-strong February 28 protest in Brokdorf against the Schmidt government's nuclear power program. It was the largest such action yet held in West Germany, where the anti-nuclear-power movement has begun to take up the question of nuclear weapons as well.

From Intercontinental Press

Haig smears murdered victims of Salvador junta

By Nelson González

After more than 100 days of "investigation" by the FBI and the Salvadoran junta into the deaths of the four American missionaries killed in El Salvador last December, the "most prominent theory" as to how they died was made public.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the House Foreign Affairs Committee March 18 that the women may have tried or "been perceived to have tried" to run a roadblock, leading to "an exchange of fire" that killed them.

He neglected to reconcile this theory with the fact that the missionaries were raped.



Militant/Nelson González
William Ford, brother of slain nun

James Cheek, deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, said there was no evidence that the four were trying to run a roadblock.

Confronted with expressions of outrage from the Maryknoll Order and the families of the victims about his smear campaign, Haig had second thoughts. When asked if he had meant what he said, he replied, "My heavens, no."

William Ford, brother of Ita Ford, one of the slain women, commented on the so-called investigation:

"My sister was traveling in a van. There were fingerprints all over the van. I asked if they got a list of National Guard people on duty that day. I'm told they had."

"I wanted to know why they didn't take prints off the van and match them with the prints of the National Guard people on duty that day."

"I'm told they didn't do it. I asked why. The authorities in El Salvador said, 'We didn't know which prints on the van belonged to the women.'"

Ford said that "El Salvador is uninterested in finding out who did it because the murderers obviously would be from the government. And the United States is only interested in pressing more guns into the hands of these murderers."

He has tried without success to get information from the State Department. "They seem to regard this investigation as an inconvenience that distracts them from their grand scheme in El Salvador."

'Only way forward,' says Chavis

Va. rally answers Reagan, builds Black party

By Kibwe Diarra

NORFOLK, Va.—"Blacks, Reaganism, and Politics in the 1980s; Where Do We Go From Here" was the topic of a March 7 dinner and rally co-sponsored by the Tidewater and Richmond chapters of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

Elsa Brown, from the Richmond chapter, and Barbara Arnwine, NBIPP National Organizing Committee member, spoke. The featured speaker was Rev. Ben Chavis, former Wilmington Ten defendant and national spokesperson for the party.

Elsa Brown began her presentation with a moment of silence for the slain children of Atlanta. "The slaying of Black children in Atlanta, and the go-slow policy of local officials and the police, was the reason Black people need their own political voice," she said. Brown also outlined the Richmond chapter's attempts to make contact with Black prisoners. She urged everyone to go to Atlanta March 15 to protest the racist killings.

Mary Cox, the Virginia state convenor who chaired the rally, gave an overall view of what the party in Virginia had been doing. She described how the NBIPP organized three busloads of people from the Tidewater area and one busload of high school students from Richmond to go to the January 15 rally in Washington, D.C.



Ben Chavis: 'We must go forward; we must deal with Reaganism. The party is the only way toward freedom. Build the party!'

to demand King's birthday be made a national holiday.

"That," Cox continued, "is the type of action NBIPP is gearing itself to."

Barbara Arnwine spoke about the role of Black women in the fight for

liberation. "Black women have always been struggling," Arnwine said, including "as Black women around the special oppression they face."

Arnwine explained that NBIPP recognized the special demands of Black women, and was conscious of the secondary role women were relegated to in most Black organizations. "NBIPP," she said, "is changing all that." The party is carrying out a policy that, from the beginning, insures that at least 50 percent of its national leadership is female. "Black women," Arnwine continued, "would no longer be content with just being office secretaries in the liberation struggle," but are beginning to see themselves on the front lines.

She closed by saying that "cutbacks in child care, education, social services, and the rising rate of unemployment of Black women—which is twice that of Black men" are "unacceptable to Black women."

"We will continue to suffer," said Rev. Ben Chavis, "if we don't rid the world of the Reagans and Haigs. We have to be brainwashed to believe that the Democrats and Republicans represent our national interests.

"The state of Black America is worse now than it was twenty years ago. Reagan, like Carter before him, and like Ford before him, and Nixon before him, all blame the problems of America on their predecessors," he con-

tinued. "Reagan and they are in trouble and we should not give up our houses, our child care, and our jobs to get them out of trouble."

Chavis said, "They sent \$50 million to the military junta of El Salvador to fight against the just demands of the people while taking away food stamps and legal services here. Imperialism is not just killing us in Africa and around the world, it's killing us here."

"Where do we go from here?" Chavis asked, paraphrasing Martin Luther King, Jr. "We must go forward; we must deal with Reaganism, which is imperialism, which is racism. This system is becoming paralyzed. We must not be paralyzed ourselves."

"The National Black Independent Political Party is where I think we must go. We've got to fight back, be more vocal than ever to build a mass Black party."

"Where do we go from here?" Chavis asked again. "To build the party!"

Chavis said he, too, would be in Atlanta March 15.

He closed by saying, "Some say that it is too risky to build the party; I want to live so bad." He said, "I'm willing to risk my life to build the party, because the party is a priority in my life. I don't want to be a martyr. But the party is the only way forward. The only way towards freedom. The party is a priority in my life. Build the party! Build the party!"

Black party in Va. backs King holiday, teachers

By Kibwe Diarra

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—At the first chapter meeting of the Tidewater National Black Independent Political Party in December 1980, members decided that the best way to break onto the Tidewater scene was through activities around national as well as local issues.

The chapter unanimously decided to support and help build the January 15 March on Washington called by Stevie Wonder to demand that Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday.

An aggressive petitioning campaign was launched for the national holiday. The NBIPP collected over 5,000 signatures in the Tidewater—2,000 from United Steelworkers Local 8888 at the Newport News shipyard and almost 1,000 more from the local Bendix auto parts plant, organized by the International Association of Machinists. Hundreds more were collected from boilermakers at the shipyard in Norfolk and the Chessie Railroad coal pier in Newport News.

NBIPP co-coordinators Omari Musa, a rail worker in Newport News, and Mauravia Reid, the editor of the Black newsweekly *Journal and Guide*, spoke

on a morning radio talk show about the NBIPP and the January 15 march.

Three members of Norfolk State University student government, who had attended NBIPP's founding convention, chartered three buses to go to Washington on January 15. Through joint planning all three buses were filled, and a large red, black, and green banner declaring "Defend Black Rights—Jobs, not the Draft" was carried as the Black party banner.

The January 15 demonstration went a long way toward countering the idea that Blacks have grown apathetic to our condition in America. Many activists came back from Washington more determined than ever to build the NBIPP.

In February the Virginia state government attempted to corrupt Dr. King's name and ideas by proposing a joint state holiday, combining King's birthday with that of two racist generals, Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. This move brought cries of outrage from the Black community, but no Black elected officials said a word against the bill.

Organized opposition came from two sources: the NBIPP, and the racist Daughters of the Confederacy. The



Tidewater NBIPP banner leads contingent in January 15 march in Washington, D.C., demanding Martin Luther King holiday.

southern regional representative of the NBIPP, Andrew White, went to the hearings and spoke against the proposed bill. The Daughters of the Confederacy lobbied the state legislature.

No one is sure which had the most effect, but the bill was changed to make King's birthday a state holiday—separate from the racist generals.

The February chapter meeting of the NBIPP was held at Christopher Newport College (CNC). Black students at CNC, a four-year liberal arts institute partially funded by the state of Virginia, were fighting to get Black full-time instructors hired. There are none at this writing. According to the school's president and head of the affirmative action program, there were "no qualified Blacks" for the positions.

The Tidewater NBIPP voted to support the Black students in their fight against discriminatory policies.

The chapter also voted to help build support in the Black community for the Hampton Education Association's fight against the appointed school board's budget cutbacks.

The Hampton City Council and school board wanted to fire more than ninety teachers, thirty-four teacher's

aides; drop art, music, and physical education from the school program; and hold teachers' salary increases to 6 percent. Hampton's teachers are paid \$10,300 to start (the lowest in the area), barely enough to starve on.

The teachers' association called for an 18 percent increase with no firings or program cuts. The school board, after facing community meetings of as many as 2,000 enraged parents, students, and teachers, agreed to a 16 percent raise with no firings or cutbacks. The fight, which the HEA says "is not over yet," now goes to the city council.

When the March 15 demonstration in Atlanta, Georgia, was called by Coretta Scott King to protest the killing of Black children in that city, the Tidewater NBIPP agreed to put out a statement to build the demonstration, protest the killings, and take every opportunity to get out green ribbons and leaflets. Many Newport News shipyard workers were happy to see party activists when they set up information tables there. One shipyard worker said, "It's about time Black people start taking things into their own hands and stop waiting on others."

2,000 in Liberty City protest Atlanta killings

MIAMI—Some 2,000 people, mostly Black youth, demonstrated here March 22 against the murder of children in Atlanta.

Chanting "Justice!" and "Save our children!" the protesters wound their way through Liberty City, scene of the Black rebellion last year. Pouring rain throughout the day did not deter the youth, who stayed for a rally addressed by two mothers of the slain Atlanta children, Eunice Jones and Annie Rogers.

The march was the largest protest action in this city since the Liberty City rebellion last May. It was called by the Congress of Racial Equality.



Annie Rogers, whose son was slain in Atlanta, addressed Miami rally.

'Dumb farmer' takes on nuclear 'experts'

By Stu Singer

PITTSBURGH—By the time of the March 28 demonstration in Harrisburg, Jane Lee will have been on tour for almost two months. She is a farmer who lives near the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, where the March 28, 1979, accident occurred.

Her tour, to build the March 28 action, has been an important educational campaign for the movement against nuclear power.

She debated Carol Morris, a Westinghouse engineer, on a popular call-in program on KQV radio here March 16. Describing herself as "just a dumb farmer," she proceeded to demolish Morris, who was introduced as part of the Westinghouse "Campus America" program and a spokesperson for the Society for the Advancement of Fission Energy. Both are pronuclear propaganda groups.

Jane Lee announced the March 28 demonstration several times during the program, pointing out that it is sponsored by the United Mine Workers and other unions.

Real science

Perhaps the most impressive thing about Jane Lee's talks is her honest, scientific approach. Her talks start from what she has personally observed and documented.

She describes the health and reproductive changes of animals living in the shadow of the nuclear plant from its opening in 1974 to the present. She describes studies of infant death rates learned by studying birth and death records in local newspapers.

Can a "dumb farmer" be trusted when "real scientists and engineers" argue there has been no adverse effect from radiation?

The question, which came to the center of the call-in discussion, can't be settled by comparing professional training. The impact of the pressures of money, politics, corporate affiliation, and class on scientific objectivity must be taken into account.

Thus the backers of nuclear power, proclaiming their scientific method, put their imaginations on overtime to refute Jane Lee.

Incompetent farmers

When Lee described the deaths and deformities of animals, Morris said it resulted from inbreeding and bad farming techniques.

Lee reported the deaths of 500 birds on one farm two weeks after a big radiation leak from Three Mile Island Unit 2. A caller to the program said the birds were probably smuggled illegally into the country and that such birds frequently die from viruses.

Another caller declared that Lee was a member of the Socialist Workers Party "which is behind the antinuclear movement." Lee responded that she is not a member of any organization and asked what the question had to do with the subject. The red-baiter hung up.

Refugees

Some of the most moving points in the program were calls from people

Holland tour

Jane Lee spent ten days in Holland at the end of February as a guest of the antinuclear movement there. She spoke at large meetings throughout the country.

Westinghouse is selling four nuclear generating plants to Holland, but polls show 70 percent of the population opposes nuclear power.

"They have a lot of support, but the unions aren't involved yet," Lee said. "I told them about our experience and how important the unions are. They are working on getting union involvement."



JANE LEE

Militant/Suzanne Haig

who moved to Pittsburgh from the Three Mile Island area after the accident. They strongly supported what Jane Lee was saying.

One woman said, "I lived in Middletown at the time of the accident. The authorities showed no respect for the people in the area. When we first heard about the accident my mother and I were quite concerned and we started writing down the figures they announced on the radio for the amounts of radioactive emissions.

"We added them up and at the end of the first day the figure was higher than what was officially announced for the ten-day period after the accident. . . .

"I went before the Kemeny Presidential Commission [supposedly investigating the accident] to testify. I gave them facts and figures.

Doctor Kemeny asked me a question. I was very happy he was going to take the time to ask me a question. He asked if I had seen [the movie] *The China Syndrome*.

"That was the question."

Economics, pure and simple

The talk show host was somewhat sympathetic to the points Jane Lee made. But he and Westinghouse's Morris were taken aback by Lee's charges that the effects of Three Mile Island are being covered up. "You're suggesting a giant conspiracy," the announcer said. "Why would the State Agriculture Department and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission cover up?"

"Economics. Economics, pure and simple," the fifty-seven-year-old farmer responded. "Lancaster and York counties are the breadbasket of the Northeast. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania stands to lose a great deal in that area. The Hershey Corporation gets milk for its chocolate from farms in that area. They lost \$10 million the first year after the accident and they are planning to move the operation to Virginia."

And Westinghouse itself has good reason for putting resources into promoting nuclear power. It is one of the biggest suppliers of nuclear equipment and fuel in the world, with a stake in the billions.

'Who can you trust?'

The Westinghouse engineer acted as though Lee had committed a mortal sin by refuting reports by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and other agencies. "They're the authorities," the engineer said. "You have to be able to trust the organizations that are expert in the field. If you can't trust them, who can you trust?"

Why not start with "dumb farmers" like Jane Lee who don't have millions invested in lies.

Farmer beats FBI rap in great soybean raid

Not guilty of any crime. That's what a St. Louis federal grand jury decided March 19 after hearing the facts in the case of farmer Wayne Cryts, arrested by the FBI for "conspiracy."

What did Wayne Cryts "conspire" to do? On February 16 he went to a grain elevator in New Madrid, Missouri, where 31,000 bushels of his soybeans were stored. The elevator had gone bankrupt and the courts said Cryts and other farmers had no right to the property they had stored there.

That didn't sit too well with farmers, 3,000 of whom joined Cryts to help him open the storage bins and remove his beans.

First Cryts had to have it out with a federal marshall and the FBI. Cryts told them:

"I am a sovereign individual and a citizen of the state of Missouri and am operating under common law."

The grand jury apparently agreed.

The American Agriculture Movement in the February 24 issue of its paper, 'American Agriculture News,' declared, "Wayne Cryts and farmers from all over the United States made history last week. And the citizens of America owe them a debt of gratitude for preserving individual rights everywhere."



Cryts, (right), has it out with federal marshall



Farmers outnumbered feds 200-1. Here Cryts addresses supporters over Highway Patrol's PA system.

How health dept. hides infant death rate at TMI

On March 20 the Pennsylvania Health Department released a report. It was summarized in the March 21 *Pittsburgh Press* under the headline "State rules out infant death link to TMI."

But the description of the report was hardly as reassuring as the headline made it appear.

The *Press* stated: "The department, in issuing what it said was its final report, said no deaths were caused either by the radioactivity or by emotional distress in pregnant women who may have been traumatized by events surrounding the [March 1979] accident" at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant.

But the article notes: "While seeing no correlation between the accident and the statistics," the Health Department spokesman "noted that infant and fetal death rates around Three Mile Island were generally higher than the average immediately before and after the accident.

"He said the department would con-

tinue to investigate the possibility of an outbreak of winter influenza or measles as the cause.

"There are still some unanswered questions," he said.

You may wonder why the Health Department is so sure that radiation had no effect on the infant death rate. The article contains the "proof."

The last paragraph reads: "In a report in 1979, the President's Commission on Three Mile Island concluded that the radiation releases 'were so small that there will be no detectable additional cases of cancer, developmental abnormalities or genetic ill health as a consequence.'"

Since the government cover-up of Three Mile Island asserted that the radiation from the nuclear plant was harmless, any finding of health problems in the area must, by definition, be explained by reasons other than radiation. And that's that.

This approach has nothing in common with scientific investigation.

—S.S.

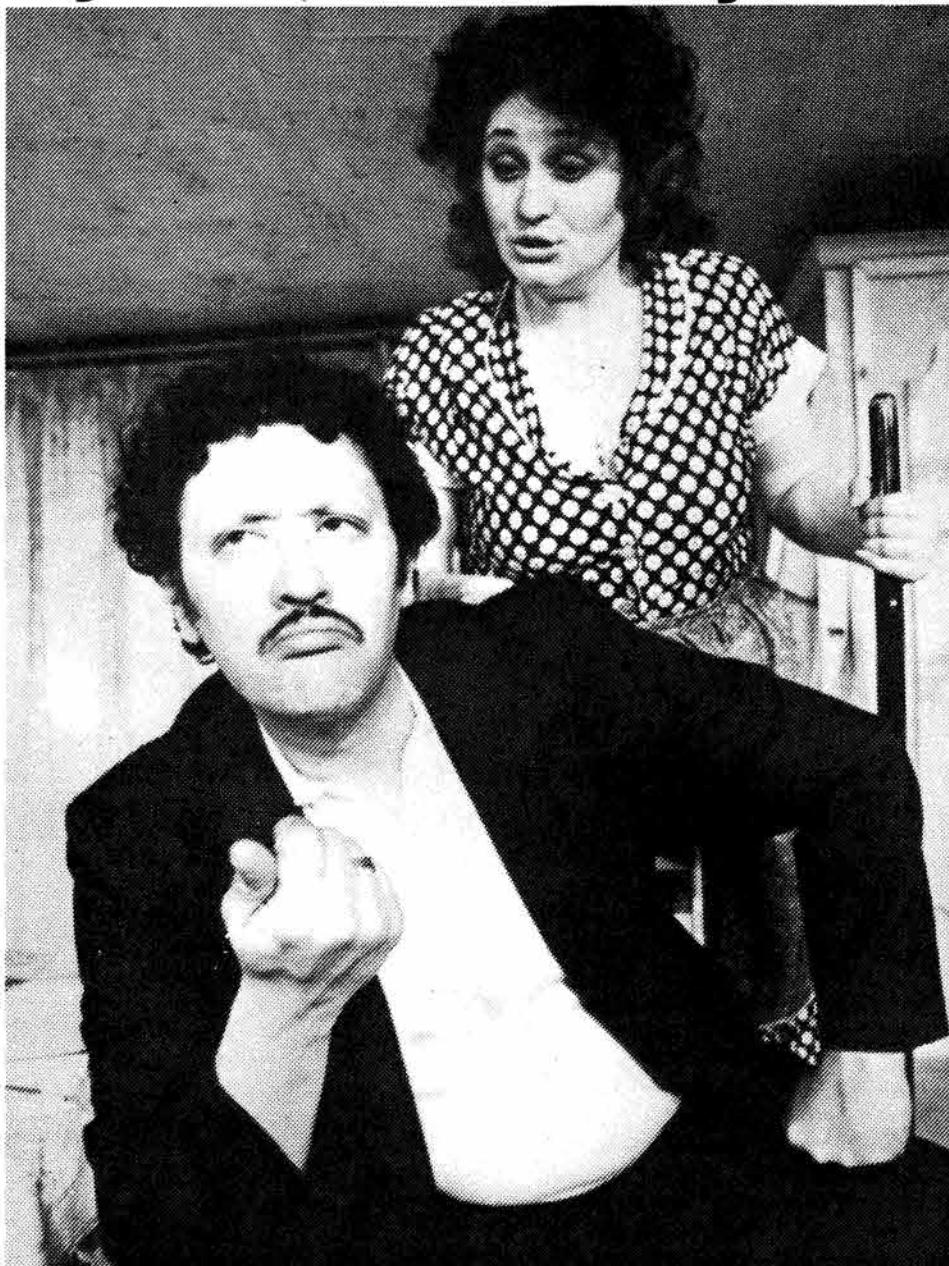
'We Won't Pay! We Won't Pay!'

We Won't Pay! We Won't Pay!, the first drama by Italy's foremost living playwright, Dario Fo, to be shown in the United States, is now being presented at the Chelsea Theater Center, an off-Broadway theatre in New York City.

Highly successful as the writer of comedies for the conventional theatre, Fo and Franca Rame, his collaborator and leading actress, left it to found a political theatre in 1968, the year of the French general strike.

Determined to cease being "a jester for the bourgeoisie," he became a popular artist in the tradition of the medieval folk-players who voiced the social complaints of their audience. He took his plays to union halls, factory cafeterias, and city plazas.

Fo is the author of twenty-eight plays which have been performed to high acclaim throughout Europe, and in



Scene from 'We Won't Pay! We Won't Pay!' The Chelsea Theater Center in New York City offers \$2 discount on tickets for this play if above photo is presented at box office.

manages to wriggle her way out, thanks to her inventive imagination, which enables her to explain away everything. Each explanation, however, while averting discovery for the moment, raises new difficulties.

In some ways *We Won't Pay! We*

Won't Pay! resembles bedroom farce, with the groceries, always on the verge of being discovered, taking the place of the lover under the bed. Its setting, however, is not the bourgeois milieu of bedroom farce but that of the working class. There is an interplay

between outrageously exaggerated incidents and the everyday reality of pressing social problems.

Unlike bedroom farce, it goes back to the folk farce of the Middle Ages in its jibes at the high and the mighty. Antonia's friend Margherita, who has food packages stuffed under her coat, is said by Antonia to be pregnant. This pregnancy, she further explains, has come about as a result of nightly visits by the Pope—in Margherita's dreams, that is, in which he warned her not to take the pill.

In the classic manner of farce, there are hectic chases, with policemen who are like Keystone Cops. However, one of the policemen stops long enough to confide to Giovanni that he is a university graduate who took the job, which he admits is shameful, because he was unemployed.

Giovanni, who has been told by his Communist Party leaders that the police are honorable "sons of the people," is shocked by the policeman's "extremist" sentiments—a comic reversal between the "communist" and the cop that is an amusing comment on the conservatism of the Communist Party.

But, unlike most figures in farce, Giovanni learns in the course of events. At the end he realizes that "expropriation is the only defense against robbery."

Fo and Rame were to have come to the United States to be honored and to perform in another of his plays, but the U.S. State Department refused to grant them visas. This action was protested by Arthur Miller, Norman Mailer, and many other artists in the United States and Europe.

The avant-garde dramatist Robert Foreman stated: "I think Fo, whose social sense is such an integral part of his wonderful theater, could teach us all a very great deal. For this reason the State Department's visa denial directly hurts American theater."

But if the State Department has been able to keep out Fo, it hasn't been able to keep out his plays.

—Paul Siegel

Theater

countries ranging from Canada to China. Over forty million people have seen him in his one-man show, *Mistero Buffo* (Sacred Mystery), exclusive of TV, where it was seen by one out of three Italians; even though it was attacked as "blasphemous" by the Vatican. It is high time, therefore, that he is known in the United States.

We Won't Pay! We Won't Pay! is a hilarious farce. Antonia, a Milanese woman, is outraged by the latest escalation of prices at the supermarket. She joins with other women to face down the manager and the police and walk off with everything they can carry away.

She is afraid that her husband, Giovanni, a loyal Communist Party member who insists that the honor of the proletariat requires respect for law and order, will denounce this action as "the extremism of the far left."

Hiding the groceries under the bed, Antonia gets involved as a consequence in a series of preposterous situations. From each of these she

'The Panda's Thumb'

The Panda's Thumb. By Stephen Jay Gould, W.W. Norton and Company, 1980. 343 pp., \$12.95.

Stephen Jay Gould is a partisan of Darwinism as well as a clear, entertaining writer. *The Panda's Thumb* and its predecessor *Ever Since Darwin* are spirited defenses and explanations of Darwin's basic theory, and clearly written surveys of the state of modern evolutionary theory.

The essays in both books are from Gould's monthly column in *Natural History* magazine,

postulated actions of an omnipotent creator. Odd arrangements and funny solutions are the proof of evolution—patterns that a sensible god would never tread, but that a natural process constrained by history, follows perforce."

In another essay Gould condemns the "evolution" of Mickey Mouse. The Disney studio gave Mickey an increasingly human and babyish appearance over the years. This observation provides the starting point for a discussion of neotony, the extended youth humans enjoy that sets one of the biological contexts for human culture.

Gould takes aim at various notions of "scientific" racism. He has used the follies of past intelligence measures, brain or skull size for instance, to expose the biases of modern IQ tests. In the 1860s French anthropologists concerned themselves, to no avail, with the sizes of brains of many great thinkers.

Gould comments, "The physical structure of the brain must record intelligence in some way, but gross size and external shape are not likely to capture anything of value. I am somehow less interested in the weight and convolutions of Einstein's brain than in the near certainty that people of equal talent have lived and died in cotton fields and sweatshops."

Similarly, he has attacked the dangerously reductive ideas of sociobiology that attempt to explain human behavior solely in genetic terms. This outlook, if accepted, would make the social sciences relatively insignificant subdisciplines of biology and worse, would justify a fatalistic approach to social problems. It is human nature; we are pro-

grammed by our genes, say the sociobiologists. That is why people are greedy, aggressive, or anti-social; why biology is women's destiny and Blacks are physically suited only for heavy work.

In an essay entitled "Darwin's Middle Road," Gould offers a case study for a scientific method consistent with dialectics. Science advances neither by the slow accumulation of facts nor the suddenly brilliant insight. Instead, Darwin and all scientists proceed on the basis of an interaction of theory and facts.

Theory rooted in facts helps point the way to the discovery of new facts which in turn improve, deepen, and even transform theory.

Among Gould's original contributions is a critique of the presumption of gradualism by evolutionists back to Darwin. Evolution occurs over billions of years, but it needn't follow that the pace of change has been uniformly slow and steady. The sudden appearance of advanced life forms 600 million years ago is but one example of a revolutionary leap in evolutionary history. Geologic changes have also occurred suddenly.

Gould notes that some scientists' predilection for gradual change reflects the prejudices of nineteenth century liberalism, not scientific fact.

Science, for Gould, is a human enterprise inseparable from society. It is exciting and unpredictable, alive with paradoxes and puzzles and quirky evolutions of panda's thumbs and cartoon mice. Gould is an enthusiastic, passionate, and humane scientist. The substance and spirit of his science can deepen our own understanding.

—Kim Kleinman

Books

entitled "This View of Life." Gould teaches geology, biology, and the history of science at Harvard.

The title essay argues that a proof of evolution lies in the less-than-ideal adaptations that it produces. An example is the panda's thumb.

The panda evolved an opposable digit—a thumb—from a wrist bone and a muscle, while its actual inside finger is in its paw.

Pandas that had such a thumb could adapt to their conditions of life more readily and had a survival advantage over other pandas. They lived longer and could pass on the new trait through reproduction. This is natural selection.

A "thumb" was adaptive. It made no difference to the process of natural selection how it came about.

Imperfections of this sort, Gould argues, reveal the historical processes of evolution: "Ideal design is a lousy argument for evolution, for it mimics the

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Not to worry!—Nabisco has recalled its new "Country Crackers" which were found to include "small shreds of copper." A spokesperson explained that it was only "extremely thin, very soft copper wire," and, of course, "poses no serious health hazard to consumers."

The bright side—Some people bust their back for a lifetime and wind up with nothing. But not everyone. For instance, Robert Jones, now retiring as

chief honcho at GE, received a salary last year of \$1 million. He will receive a pension of about \$8,000—a week.

The truly needy—Tiffany's, the megabuck jewelry folks, got a New York state tax break of \$5 million over the next decade because it decided not to move part of its operation out of the state, thereby, it's explained, saving jobs. Similarly, Philip Morris pocketed a \$2.4 million deduction.

Lively touch—A gremlin brightened up the copy on a New York *Daily News* ad for a burial crypt company: Where the ad described costs, the line was added, "Why stay alive when dying is so cheap?" Where the crypts were described as handsome and dignified, "homey" was added. Plus a tag line, "Ask about our family lay-away plan."

They better be fresh—A Greenwich Village food shop had a sign in

the window offering truffles for only \$395 a pound.

Doing his thing—Former President Ford may still not be able to walk and chew gum simultaneously, but he is now a board member of six corporations. Said a spokesperson, "Ford is really enjoying this, representing the free enterprise system." His reported annual take for finding his way to board meetings is \$120,000, plus thousands additional in "consulting fees."

By Any Means Necessary

Reagan's choice—and the FBI's



Who are those guys?

That was my reaction—and I suspect likewise for most of us—to the Blacks appointed to the Reagan administration.

Those guys include Mel Bradley, Thad Garrett, and Samuel R. Pierce, Jr. They're spokesmen for the "new Black conservatives," whose existence was proclaimed during the Reagan campaign. Pierce is a familiar face. I'll get to that later.

Bradley, a former California state cabinet officer, serves as a senior adviser for the Office of Policy Development. He gave up a United Airlines executive position to join the Reagan team.

Garrett, whose role is to advise Vice-president George Bush on domestic affairs, did time with the late Nelson Rockefeller while he was vice-president.

And brother Pierce—secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Pierce, as the Black weekly magazine *Jet* put it, was the "Black finalist in the cabinet sweepstakes."

The HUD job is one of Pierce's many stints with the federal government. He served as assistant to the Under Secretary of Labor during the Eisenhower administration, general counsel for the Treasury Department under Nixon, and a counsel

for Nelson Rockefeller's 1964 bid for the presidential nomination.

Pierce is a millionaire lawyer with holdings in stocks and real estate.

His portfolio reads like a Dunn and Bradstreet guide to corporate America.

Before Reagan dubbed him, Pierce sat on the boards of General Electric, International Paper, Prudential Insurance, and U.S. Industries.

Not exactly your local Elks Club, much less the NAACP.

These qualifications prompted a Reagan aide to say, "Sam is here for business. Unlike so many other Blacks, Sam's presence isn't based on the salary or note. It's his basic instinct to contribute."

Pierce's first act on the new job was to ban interviews and news conferences for a month while he learned the ropes.

One of his initial "contributions" will be to administer cuts in social programs for his boss.

Jet commented that Pierce "could be the difference between settling racial grievances around a conference table or marching in the streets."

And then again, maybe not.

That brings me to another bit of Pierce's history

Osborne Hart

that was apparently unknown even to him at the time.

J. Edgar Hoover, the late FBI director, had a personal vendetta against Martin Luther King, Jr., and was obsessed with destroying him.

Hoover's obsession was so intense that a campaign to discredit King was launched by the FBI in 1963, nearly four years before the general Cointelpro program against the Black movement and leadership.

Hoover gave the go-ahead to plans that included wiretaps (also approved by then-attorney general Robert Kennedy), poison pen letters, media smears, and other dirty tricks.

An important aspect of the King Cointelpro operation, revealed in a 1964 memo by William C. Sullivan, Domestic Intelligence Division head and later Cointelpro tactician, was the search for the "right kind of a national Negro leader" to "assume the role of the leadership of the Negro people when King has been completely discredited."

Who was the FBI's choice to lead the Black movement?

You guessed it. Samuel Pierce.

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA

SAN FRANCISCO

IRELAND AND H-BLOCK PRISONERS. Film: *Prisoners of War*. Speakers: Seamus Gibney, Irish Northern Aid Committee; Joe Cole, socialist activist. Fri., April 10, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

FLORIDA

MIAMI

FRAME-UP: THE TRIALS OF BLACKS IN MIAMI REBELLION. Speakers: Carmen Maymi, Socialist Workers Party; Yunis Ali, Black Student Union, Miami Dade Community College; Lonnie Bradley, one of frame-up victims. Wed., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 1237 N.W. 119th St., No. Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON

CRISIS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. Parents and teachers speak out. Sun., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

DETROIT

GRENADA: BIG REVOLUTION IN A SMALL COUNTRY. Eyewitness report on second anniversary celebration. Speakers: Jim Burford and Debby Tarnopol, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 5, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

TWIN CITIES

UNIONISTS REPORT BACK FROM HARRISBURG ON COAL MINERS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Jim Carson, Socialist Workers Party and United Transportation Union Local 650; others. Sun., April 5, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave.

St. Paul. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

KANSAS CITY

NUCLEAR POWER: ITS DANGERS TO OUR JOBS AND COMMUNITY. Sun., April 5, 7:30 p.m. Speakers to be announced. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

ORANGE

REPORT FROM CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA. Speaker: John Rogers Flather, member of delegation that visited Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. Fri., April 3, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Universalist Church, 47 Cleveland St. Ausp: Unitarian Universalist Service Committee. For more information call (201) 674-0010.

NEW YORK

MANHATTAN

POLAND TODAY: A DISCUSSION. Speakers to be announced. Fri., April 3, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16th St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR JOHN G. POULOS. Poulos, a veteran socialist, was a founding member of both the Socialist Workers Party and the CIO. He died last December. Sun., April 5, 3 p.m. Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th St., Room 514.

OHIO

CINCINNATI

FROM ATLANTA TO CINCINNATI: STOP THE MURDER OF BLACK YOUTH. Speakers: Myra Brooks, president, Black Women's Leadership Caucus; Rev. Melvin Jones, Janel Baptist Church; Jane Strader, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., April 5, 7 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

OREGON

PORTLAND

INS DEPORTATION PROGRAM: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT. Speakers: Bishara Costandi, Portland State University activist in Committee for a Democratic Palestine. Sun., March 29, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

NO NUKES: WHY NOT COAL? Speaker: Seth Rockwell, representative from Trojan Decommissioning Alliance. Sun., April 5, 7:30 p.m. 711 N.W. Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA

STRIKE! DEFEND THE MINERS AND TRANSIT WORKERS. Speakers: Dee Ann Rathbun, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, member of United Mine Workers Local 1190; other labor and community speakers. Sun., March 29, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Strikers free. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE MILITARIZATION DRIVE. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 5, 7 p.m. 5811 N. Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

DALLAS

SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR. STOP U.S. INTERVENTION! Teach-in, Sat., April 4, 1-7 p.m. Southern Methodist University, Selectman Hall, Perkins Institute. Films, panels.

March and rally, Sat., April 18, Assembly, 12 noon. Rally at Kennedy Plaza, 2 p.m. Sponsored by Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. For more information call (214) 375-3715.

WASHINGTON

SEATTLE

IRAN REVOLUTION: A PARTICIPANT'S ACCOUNT. Speaker: Fatima Fallahi, Iranian socialist, feminist. Sun., March 29, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

IRAN REVOLUTION: A PARTICIPANT'S ACCOUNT. Speaker: Fatima Fallahi, Iranian socialist, feminist. Wed., April 1, 11:30 a.m., University of Washington, HUB 309. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

REVOLUTION IN GRENADA: ITS MEANING FOR BLACK AMERICANS. Eyewitness report and slide show by Donald Massey, organizer of Seattle Young Socialist Alliance, who recently toured Grenada. Sun., April 5, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

MORGANTOWN

STOP THE RACIST MURDERS: REPORT FROM ATLANTA. Speakers to be announced. Sat., April 4, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

They aren't buying Reagan's plan

This week's 'Union Talk' is by Yvonne Hayes, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609, Sparrows Point, Maryland.

In the last few weeks, the news media have spent a lot of time discussing the Reagan budget. The press has covered the reactions of conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats, state legislators and city council reps. But it has been very hard to find out what working people are thinking and doing in response.

The press did cover the Bal Harbour, Florida, meeting of the AFL-CIO leadership; but their conclusions didn't even vaguely resemble the conclusions a lot of us are reaching in discussions on the job, in the locker rooms, and in union halls around the city.

A couple of weeks ago, a woman in my locker room put an article on the bulletin board which listed Reagan's proposed cutbacks. That article provoked more discussion about politics than I had ever heard at work. Everyone had an opinion about the direction of the new administration.

At first, people were simply outraged by the cutback in TRA (Trade Readjustment Assistance) benefits. But then the discussion began to take up welfare, food stamps, housing. Every single woman in every aisle of the locker room, in the shower, at the wash basins—everywhere—had something to say.

"He's just out to make the rich richer and the poor poorer."

"They thought they had a problem with crime before? So what are you supposed to do when your benefits are gone, you can't find a job, and you have a family to feed?"

"What are our kids supposed to eat . . . bullets?"

Daycare workers in Baltimore held a meeting to discuss how to preserve facilities in the face of federal cutbacks.

Workers at Maryland Dry Dock, at a meeting of Local 31 of the International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, protested the presence of cops in the yard, discussed sexist harassment of women workers, and debated plans to investigate health and safety abuses.

At Glidden Pigments, members of Steelworkers Local 14019 voted to send money to aid the search



'09 Express
Steelworkers from Local 2609 at Sparrows Point attend January 14 commemoration of Martin Luther King organized by union.

in Atlanta for the child murderers and began plans to fight forced overtime and layoffs.

At Bethlehem Steel, hit by big layoffs last year, it is no different. There is increased discussion about the Klan, union busting, nuclear power, and how all these tie in with the Reagan war budget. Almost every article in the February '09 Express, our local's paper, took up an important political question. We know that we are getting kicked around and that Reagan's budget is just the biggest kick so far.

In an article on energy in the '09 Express, one union officer wrote: "Our pride in America, our sense of patriotism peaked over the holding of 52 American hostages. Well, the oil companies are holding 250 million of us hostage, and they keep raising the ransom every time they raise the price of a gallon of fuel."

We are being held hostage. By all the big corporations and their government in Washington. They are telling us, "Give up that school, that hospital,

that child care center, that job training! That's all waste. Pay for wars overseas, or else!"

That "or else" is looking better and better all the time. We're beginning to look for a way out, a way to stop the rulers of this country from driving us back into the 1850s. I think the demonstration at Three Mile Island on March 28 will be a step in the right direction.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland says we can go along with increases in the military budget and get money for jobs too. But most working people are clearly better at simple math than he is. We know there are only two alternatives: Reagan's program of Money for War, Not Jobs or a working class program of Money for Jobs, Not War.

I hope that this sentiment will come through loud and clear as machinists and miners, auto workers and steelworkers take to the streets of Harrisburg on March 28.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

Why miners are right about shorter work week

In the April 6, 1959, 'Militant,' Alex Harte wrote the following report on the progress of passage of a 1933 bill to shorten the work week. Thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay, or 30 for 40, has been a longstanding demand of the labor movement as a measure to curb unemployment.

Today the United Mine Workers are leading the way in the fight for a shorter work week. A central issue in their contract fight is to block the attempt by the mineowners to keep the mines open seven days a week. The miners' defiant stand shows the way forward to winning the shorter work week.

Over the years, the 1933 bill, or versions of it, has still made no progress in becoming law.

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) has reintroduced a bill for the next congressional session that would reduce the work week to thirty-five hours. It's now sitting in committee.

That's where forty-eight years of Democrats and Republicans have brought us.

WASHINGTON, April 6—After three days of debate, the U.S. Senate, by a vote of 53 to 30, today adopted a bill limiting the work week to 30 hours and the work day to six hours.

You didn't read about it? That's because it didn't happen April 6, 1959, but April 6, 1933. The bill was introduced by Senator Hugo L. Black, now a Supreme Court Justice, then Democratic Senator from Alabama. The Roosevelt Administration blocked the bill in the House, and it didn't become law.

In his book, "Mr. Justice Black," John P. Frank describes the Alabaman's fight for the reduced work week: "In February 1933 Black made his first formal speech in the Senate in behalf of his bill. He made . . . this argument for his bill at the beginning:

unemployment resulted from improved technology and long hours of work for those employed. The efficiency of machine production made it unnecessary to work as long as in earlier generations . . . and industry could pay the difference required by the 30-hour bill without cutting the weekly wage for labor."

With the steady rise of both productivity and profits in the past decade, isn't that argument ten times more valid today?

Backing by the AFL and the pressure of 20 million jobless carried the bill through the Senate in 1933. But Roosevelt opposed the measure. As a substitute for the 30-hour bill he presented the National Recovery Act which called for "voluntary" regulation of labor relations.

Two years later, NRA was struck down by the Supreme Court. Black promptly reintroduced the 30-hour proposal as a means of coping with the problem of 12 million people still unemployed.

"A work week of 30 hours and a work day of six hours, without a decrease in wages, would put millions of people back to work," Black declared over an NBC coast-to-coast broadcast, Feb. 5, 1935. "I believe that it would put 4,000,000 back to work within a very short time."

" . . . It has been found," Black said, "that since 1929 improvements have been effected to the extent that a man's productive capacity has been increased 25 per cent. This means that he can now produce practically the same in 6 hours that he could produce in 1929 in 8 hours."

Recently, Senator [John] Kennedy, a leading Democratic presidential aspirant, argued against the current AFL-CIO demand for a shorter work week, on the grounds that it would cut down production at a time of a "race with the Soviet Union." Although they didn't use the same pretext,

spokesmen for the employers in the 1930's also howled that a shorter work week would curb production.

Here is how Black answered them in 1935: ". . . in view of the fact that many millions of workers have stood by in enforced idleness, as they watched many hundreds of factories and mines wholly and completely idle, it borders on the ridiculous to assert that a 30-hour week bill will curtail production.

"The very manufacturers and producers who are combining together to alarm the public with the idea that a 30-hour week will reduce production have been for a long time and are now failing to run their mills, mines and factories to capacity.

"A 30-hour week will not reduce the output of our great productive machine, but it has been reduced in the past and will continue to be reduced in the future by lack of purchasing power on the part of those upon whom we must depend to consume our goods."

By 1935 the Roosevelt administration had the Senate well in hand and this time the Black bill never reached the floor.

In 1937 Black introduced a new "compromise" wages and hours bill that specified neither minimum hours or pay. This bill finally emerged as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, incorporating the 40-hour week.

Labor was cheated in the 1930's when the original Black measure was sidetracked. The working people had to settle for the 40-hour week. At present Sen. McNamara (D-Mich.) has a bill in the hopper to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to establish a 35-hour week with no reduction in pay. The AFL-CIO should press for immediate passage of the McNamara bill. By mobilizing labor's full power, they can succeed not only in this but in securing an amendment to make it a 30-hour week.

California high court OKs segregated schools

By Rebecca Finch

LOS ANGELES—In a national setback to the fight for desegregated schools, the California State Supreme Court has let stand an appeals court ruling upholding Proposition 1, the anti-busing measure voted into law in 1979.

The March 12 ruling cleared the way for the Los Angeles School Board, which has waged an eighteen-year fight against desegregation, to begin dismantling its mandatory busing program.

Which is just what the board did, five days after the high court decision. With reckless disregard for the welfare of students who are being bused, the board voted to end the current busing program April 10, six weeks before summer vacation.

Proposition 1 brought California law into line with federal law, which prohibits court-ordered busing unless intended to correct intentional segregation.

ACLU, NAACP oppose Prop 1

Attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP had asked the California Supreme Court to declare Proposition 1 unconstitutional, and to uphold the latest in a series of decisions by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly, ordering the school board to expand mandatory busing.

The four-judge panel refused to hear the ACLU and NAACP case, thus letting stand a lower court ruling that Proposition 1 was constitutional.

In its forty-page opinion, the court said Egly had overstepped his authority to order mandatory busing. It also questioned the basis for much of the



school desegregation that has been ordered in California since the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark *Brown* decision in 1954, which said "separate but equal" school systems were illegal.

The court claimed that because traditional minorities—Blacks and Latinos—are now a numerical majority in the Los Angeles Unified School District, it is "questionable" that mixing these students with whites will be of any benefit.

The opinion overlooks the enormous differences between the district's predominantly white schools and those where enrollment is predominantly Black and Latino.

Many schools in predominantly Black and Latino South-Central, Southeast, and Central Los Angeles have enrolled up to five times more students

than they were built to serve. Many of these schools have placed students on half-day sessions or year-round calendars to accommodate them.

By contrast, students in majority white West San Fernando Valley and Westside schools are provided with virtually empty classrooms and individual attention from school personnel.

Per pupil expenditures are up to three times higher in white schools than in Black and Latino schools.

Judge Egly, who has presided over the Los Angeles case since 1976, told the *Los Angeles Times* the school district not only has failed to meet the desegregation standard set by the Supreme Court in 1954, but "has not even met the standard of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*." Egly was referring to the 1896

case in which the Supreme Court approved "separate but equal" facilities for Blacks and whites.

Threat to bilingual programs

Egly, who designed the mandatory busing program, had also overseen a voluntary busing program designed to alleviate overcrowding in the schools.

The mandatory program involved about 57,700 pupils, four percent of district students, in grades one through nine in 153 schools. The voluntary program involved about 15,000 students.

When all the busing assignments were made, however, there were still more than 300,000 minority students attending 274 segregated, poor schools. This is more than sixty percent of the district's enrollment.

So Egly ordered the board to spend \$6.5 million to improve conditions in these schools. Class sizes were reduced. Teachers in inner city schools were granted an eleven percent pay raise so they would stay at their jobs. More textbooks were provided.

Most important, efforts were under way—under Egly's orders—to train enough bilingual teachers for the district's 100,000 non-English-speaking students.

The California State Supreme Court's ruling not only eliminates busing, but casts big doubts over these programs as well.

Money for these programs comes from special state funds to finance court-mandated programs. Since the court no longer has jurisdiction over the case, state money to pay for the mandatory and voluntary programs,

Continued on page 21

Socialist enters L.A. school board race

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles Socialist Workers Election Campaign announced this week it will run Ollie Bivins, a twenty-seven-year-old aerospace worker, as a write-in candidate for the Los Angeles School Board in District 6.

Bivins is running against racist

school board president Roberta Weintraub.

Primary elections will be held April 14. I asked Bivins why he was entering the race at this late date.

"Because someone has to speak out against the California Supreme Court's decision," he told me.

"There is not one single school board candidate in this election who has a strong position for busing. And Democratic Party Mayor Tom Bradley has done nothing to counter the racists in this fight."

Bivins pointed out that, besides dismantling all busing programs, the court's decision was a devastating blow to bilingual-bicultural education in Los Angeles schools.

"Along with busing programs to achieve equal education, [Superior Court Judge Paul] Egly had ordered the board to spend millions of dollars to upgrade the 274 minority schools where no busing would take place. An important component of these programs was the effort to train bilingual teachers for the district's 100,000 non-English-speaking children."

"As with the busing programs, monies for these programs may no longer be available."

Bivins explained the busing program had been inadequate because it involved only four percent of students in the district.

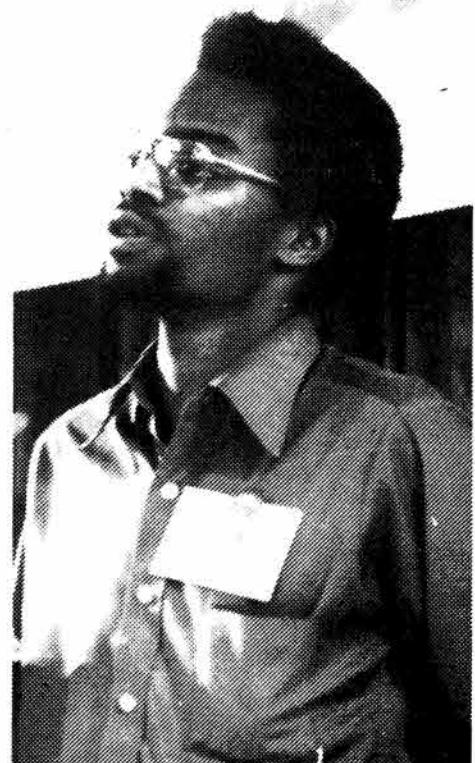
"But the plan was a big step forward; it benefited thousands of children. The court's decision to overturn it must be fought against."

"I will urge everyone I talk with to participate in meetings that have been initiated by the ACLU to plan for a broadly sponsored community rally to protest the decision. This would be a first step toward mobilizing the big forces in the Black and Chicano communities, and in the trade union move-

ment, that can carry this fight forward."

Bivins pointed to recent marches of 10,000 people in Harlem and 1,500 in Atlanta, called to protest government inaction in finding the murderers of Black youth in Atlanta, as examples that should be followed in Los Angeles.

—R.F.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

ACLU protests court decision

LOS ANGELES—The American Civil Liberties Union here has called for a mass community rally to protest the California State Supreme Court's decision to end mandatory busing, and the subsequent vote by the Los Angeles School Board to immediately dismantle the program.

Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California ACLU, was one of four signers of a letter that went out immediately after the decision.

"As you are aware," the letter said, "the Los Angeles school board, led by a pack of five segregationists, is already moving forward to dismantle completely eighteen years of work to desegregate our schools."

The letter called upon supporters of busing and "other decent freedom-loving people" to come to a meeting on Wednesday, March 25, to help plan a mass community

protest rally in support of desegregation.

Meanwhile, Thomas Atkins, general counsel for the NAACP, pledged his organization would pour more money into the fight for busing in the Los Angeles School District.

About 100 parents, teachers, students, and community people showed up at the school board meeting where the vote to immediately dismantle the program was taken. Most opposed the board's action.

Dorothy Rochelle, a Black parent and community leader in Watts, blasted the board for spending close to \$5 million in the fight to defeat the busing plan.

"One day," she said, "we are going to turn this Board of Education out—and it won't be long."

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Jim Little, also attended.